Daily Report

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Protests, Riots Continue; Developments Reported

Arson in Tirana Warehouse

AU1712151390 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1430 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Yesterday evening, a fire was caused in one of the warehouses of the Enver Factory in Tirana. To learn details about this criminal act, we interviewed Besnik Halili, Tirana deputy fire chief.

[Begin Halili recording] At about 2135, a fire was caused in one of the warehouses of the Enver Factory. The fire was extinguished by our firefighting team by (?midnight), but it nevertheless caused damage of about 2,600,000 leks. Not all the spare parts and metal instruments were burned in the fire, because they are not inflammable. Measures have been taken to discover all the causes of the fire. Yesterday and today, the organs of the investigator have been doing everything possible to identify the causes of the fire [words indistinct] a result of a malevolent act, evidence of which was found in the warehouse. The site where the fire started has been identified, alongside other evidence which provides hopeful indications of a solution.

Various shortcomings in the maintenance of the building on the part of the personnel also came to light, including breaches of regulations which failed to prevent the entry of unsupervised persons into the factory, [words indistinct], and other such negative phenomena.

To add to the report we gave to the television yesterday evening, I draw attention to the fact that vigilance is necessary to prevent vandal and malevolent elements and to stop such acts of wrongdoing.

Violence, Damage in Shkoder Described

AU1412195590 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Shkoder is suffering great pains from the earthquake caused by 200 hooligans. It was much more powerful than the earthquake caused by nature on 15 April 1979, or all the other earthquakes the elderly recall. Its aftermath is a bitter one: Several thousand square meters of broken glass at the start of winter; 3,245,000 items looted from the Social Catering Retail Enterprise; 10- million-leks worth of goods looted from the Industrial Retail Enterprise, which together with goods damaged and stolen in industrial and retail enterprises, comes to 18 million leks, including also the serious damage done to the buildings of the District Party Committee and the Executive Committee and the beautiful new building of Radio Shkoder. This powerful earthquake was caused by a group of hooligans at the start of winter, in an attempt to significantly reduce the population's supplies of flour, oil, sugar, and medicines for old people and children, causing difficulties in getting supplies to the people. Let us not forget that these are imported goods bought at high prices with the labor and sweat of the people. The vandalism continued for seven hours, untouched and unhindered by the forces of public order. The organs for the preservation of public order, the police and soldiers, showed themselves to be cool-headed, quiet, and moderate, not intervening (?brutally) and using no means of violence.

It must be said that this behavior was not supported to the slightest degree by the citizens of Shkoder, who have witnessed a tragic day in their city. They and, therefore, we, rightly demand [words indistinct] in their city, which has always been outstanding for its good behavior, politeness, correctness, and hospitality.

'Vandalism,' 'Violence' Reported

AU1412193090 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] At 1020 this morning, on such main streets of Elbasan as Qemal Stafa Boulevard, Luigj Gurakuqi Street, and the square in front of the District Party Committee, a large number of vandals, about 500 people, marched toward the main square, where, joined by those from the aforementioned streets, their number swelled to about 1,000. Committing base acts of vandalism and violence, they caused damage and destruction until midday. Through their behavior, the vandals exploited the innocence of many children between the ages of 10 and 14, inciting them and giving them [word indistinct] to involve them in their ugly crimes. Such unpleasant acts have never been seen in this city before; even though they were carefully and cool-headedly warned by the forces of order to cease their ugly acts, and despite many repeated calls on the part of the police, they did not stop this behavior. The people of Elbasan were distressed beyond measure at this vandalistic behavior, which has nothing to do with any principle of democratization. In rightly condemning it, they demand that the competent organs enforce the law against such vagabond-like acts.

Protests Reportedly Increasing

AU1412214690 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Albanian Army tanks have taken positions in the streets of the industrial town of Elbasan, in the midst of violent [zestok] anticommunist protests that are spreading through the country, REUTER reports citing statements by Albanian journalists. The journalists that REUTER contacted from Vienna by telephone claim that tanks have come into the streets after demonstrators started setting buses and trucks on fire, breaking shop windows and plundering shops.

According to the latest reports by agencies, unrest is spreading through Albania despite appeals sent by President Alia, as well as appeals by representatives of the first opposition party founded in Tirana the day before yesterday.

Protests have spread to the towns of Sarande and Durres where demonstrators clashed with the police. A larger

group of demonstrators has gathered in front of the Congress Palace in Tirana where President Alia and representatives of the first oppositional Democratic Party are expected to meet.

Damage in 14 Dec Durres Unrest Reported

AU1512200690 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Telephone report by Durres correspondent Astrit Tahiri; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] Between 1800 and 2100, when the disturbances took place, the main Pharmacy No. 1 was damaged, and thousands of hard currency leks'-worth of medicines imported by the state for the people's health were destroyed. The city's most beautiful bookstores were set on fire, and the first floor of the city's post office and telecommunications building was attacked and damaged. What is worse, these vandals tried to prevent the normal supply of food and industrial products to the populace, especially by attacking stores selling dairy products. Restaurants, including the Durres restaurant, pie shops, haberdasheries, etc. were also attacked. Meanwhile, in cooperation with the people, the police discovered and defused explosive material which was placed in some buildings. In struggles to preserve peace and order, two officers were seriously injured, and seven policemen were hurt. Several hooligans were also wounded, and 50 others were arrested and handed over to the organs of justice for investigation and trial. The initial investigations showed that 30 of them were recidivists previously sentenced for various crimes.

Citizens on the boulevard at the time immediately dissociated themselves from these acts, thus greatly aiding the work of the police. Forces of people's self defense and groups of the workers class from various enterprises in the district were involved in normalizing the situation. The situation has been normalized today.

Vandalism in Elbasan, Durres

AU1412222790 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2100 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] There were also large crowds of people and [word indistinct] in Elbasan today. In their acts of vandalism, they broke store windows and looted the people's property. They set fire to a [word indistinct] and several bookstores. They attempted to damage the Party Committee building, and burned four cars. These illegally assembled people were warned several times by the forces of order, but did not agree to disperse. On the basis of the law, the forces of order intervened with force and dispersed them. Several thieves and wrongdoers were arrested. Six members of the forces of order were wounded by stones. Two of the members, the commissar of the police department and one policeman, were admitted to a hospital.

Other elements tried to assemble in the main square of Durres this afternoon. The forces of public order, together with the forces of people's self-defense and workers from several Durres enterprises intervened and dispersed these malevolent elements. As they departed, they broke some store windows. The people of Durres were deeply indignant and did not support them.

Tanks Reported in Elbasan Streets 14 Dec

AU1512135090 Vienna International Service in English 0705 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] According to telephone reports received here from Albanian journalists, tanks rolled to Albania's main industrial city Elbasan yesterday after rampaging protesters had smashed windows, looted shops, and burned vehicles in the latest violent anticommunist protest. The reported riot in Elbasan, 35 miles south of the capital Tirana, was the latest in a series in Albania this week, following the promise by the ruling communists to allow a multiparty system and the foundation of a new democratic party by opposition activists.

Elbasan Reported Quiet 16 Dec

LD1612092290 Tirana International Service in English 0630 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Excerpt] Our correspondents [words indistinct] went on to [words indistinct] to the City of Elbasan, where as we have reported in our first broadcast a gang of hooligans carried out vandal-like acts in the center of the city.

Today, the situation there has totally calmed down. Work and lessons went on as usual although one could easily read the expression of the faces of the inhabitants of the city which express profound indignation and irritation over such acts of hooliganism.

Our correspondents met with several people, the majority of them workers and students. Some of the interviews they prepared in the City of Elbasan you will hear now:

We first addressed to the chairman of the court of the district of Elbasan, (Qasim Haydari). Comrade (Qasim) as far as we can see today from yesterday's events the situation in the city has calmed down and people have come to work. Could you inform us on the infringements of law by gangsters in your city that committed those ill-intentioned acts?

[Begin (Haydari) recording, in Albanian with English translation] As far as I know, and judging from what I witnessed yesterday, up until [words indistinct] people who have undergone punishments, (?they) are thieves without the least political view carried out acts of vandalism and violence in our city. It was an infringement of the law for there was not the least information on any manifestations so everything was outlawed.

Apart from the manifestation which eventually took place there were other grave infringements of law such as rape of different citizens, attempts to hit at any of the forces of law and order, there was caused material

damage of the socialist property and of the property of the individuals, several vehicles were set on fire, shops as well, window glasses were broken to pieces, and so on. All this activity is outlawed and it tries to oppose the democracy in our country.

The juridical step presupposes that all citizens, irrespective of their political views on beliefs, must obey the laws in power. In this case all these persons have acted against the law, against the constitution, against the other legal acts and norms. The entire people of Elbasan is indignant of these inhuman acts. The organs of justice must operate and will operate to maintain law and order so that all the citizens lead a smooth and serene life. [passage omitted]

Army Controls Kavaje, Sarande 15 Dec

AU1512162890 Vienna ORF Teletext in German 1610 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] The violent protests against the communist regime in Albania continue. Tanks were rolling in the city of Elbasan after furious crowds tried to storm the local police headquarters. Several persons were arrested and six policemen were reported to have been injured. The Army also assumed control of the cities of Kavaje and Sarande.

A meeting between opposition representatives and President Alia, which was announced for yesterday, did not take place. According to reports, it will be held later. The reform forces fear that the unrest might endanger the successes they have achieved so far.

'Hooligan Attacks' Reported in Kavaje

AU1712152590 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 13 Dec 90 p 1

[Text] At 1700 [1600 GMT] on 11 December, a group of hooligans committed acts of vandalism in the town of Kavaje, causing material damage to the people's property. From data so far, 4,000 square meters of glass have been broken and almost all the town's street lighting, valued at 12,000 leks, has been damaged. Stores and service outlets were also the targets of the hooligans' attacks. Forty-five such stores have been damaged, and there was looting in 10 of them.

Despite the demands of state bodies and the organs of public order for an end to this behavior against the law, the hooligans persisted in their aggressive acts. The finest new buildings recently constructed in Kavaje were damaged, including the new post office and the flower garden in the town center.

They also carried out such ugly acts yesterday morning, threatening and demanding the suspension of classes in the Medar Shtylla Secondary School. The school's young people and teachers reacted with determination against this behavior, and held classes normally.

With these ugly deeds, such people are trying to hinder our process of democratizing the entire country's life, to spread fear, and to obstruct the people's peaceful work. The organs for protecting order remained cool-headed in the face of such behavior. The people of Kavaje and all Durres District are exceptionally indignant at these acts.

A special commission has been created to take the necessary measures to normalize the situation and enforce the current legal dispositions.

Alia Meets Peze Villagers, Condemns Destruction

AU1512175290 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] This morning, Comrade Ramiz Alia, party Central Committee first secretary and president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly received at the seat of the Presidium of the People's Assembly a group of villagers from Peze who had expressed a desire to meet and talk with him.

Welcome. I am very pleased to meet you, Comrade Ramiz said, shaking their hands warmly. How are you? How are the people of Peze?

We are well, young and old. Just as we always have been, we are with the party and are good patriots, the veteran Shaip Rexha replied. [Words indistinct].

The people of Peze are in full solidarity with your message addressed to the Albanian people, and are at the same time very indignant at the behavior of hooligans in the cities of Kavaje, Shkoder, Elbasan, and Durres, Skender Peza said. We demand determined action against these people on the basis of the law, to restrain all acts of vandalism. Well done, workers of Durres, who bravely set yourselves against these elements.

That is right, Comrade Ramiz replied. A combined effort is needed from everyone to stop these wrongdoers in their tracks.

Such individuals have nothing in common with the people, and we do not allow anybody to destroy what we have built with effort and sweat, (?Tahir Qelmeta) said. Asking everyone to obey the law does not harm democracy. Democracy is harmed when [words indistinct]. Comrade Ramiz, we have followed the process of democratization with great interest. We approve and support it with all our energies, because it means democracy for the worker, the peasant, and the intellectual, Ramadan Sinani said. We think that the competent organs should intervene at once without hesitation against vandals who destroy, burn, and loot the people's property, who violate public order and the peace and safety of citizens. The people of Peze are always ready to give the appropriate answer to such elements.

Talking to those present, Comrade Ramiz said: I always enjoy meeting you. Peze is one of the most glorious hearths of our people's struggle for liberation, a struggle that will always be remembered with respect. Many

things may be forgotten, but the blood shed and sacrifices made for freedom and independence can never be forgotten. They make up the history of the people. Everybody—all Albania—honors Peze, Comrade Ramiz went on to emphasize. Peze and its distinguished son, Father Myslim [Myslim Peza, 1897-1984, wartime leader and long-serving deputy], once gave their word of honor to the party and Enver Hoxha and never swerved from the front of battle and labor in good times or bad. They never performed poorly; they always performed well. Under the party's leadership, the entire country's appearance has changed. Referring to the results achieved in the Peze region and throughout our countryside, Comrade Ramiz stressed the need to strengthen the cooperativist order. This system, he said, has made the peasantry the legitimate owners of the land and brought about all the benefits they draw from it.

Comrade Ramiz went on to say: In some countries of the East today, various forces have openly issued calls to return the land to the peasants. Their aim is clear. Nobody is lamenting the woes of the peasantry. The aim is to return the land to its former masters, and to announce the validity of the old title deeds, and to bring large landowners to power, the brothers of our former landowners [bejlere dhe agallare], and to create new landowners and smallholders [ciftcinj]. The destruction of collective property in these countries, Comrade Ramiz stressed, would leave the peasantry without land, without bread to eat, without pensions, and without social protection.

Comrade Ramiz went on to talk about other issues of the country's economic and political situation. He said: A worrying situation has been created in some cities and areas. The situation is caused by the destructive activities of certain forces incited by domestic and foreign enemies. Neither the people nor the state will allow these criminal acts. The Albanian Workers Party is the initiator and leader of the entire democratization of the country, Comrade Ramiz said. It is an honor to be a member of such a party. It has been its historic merit that, while being the sole party in power, it has created the necessary conditions for the development of truly pluralist thought. At a time when such conditions exist both legally and in reality, violent acts such as those which have occurred in Shkoder, Elbasan, and Kavaje, are to be doubly condemned. Their culprits are not the people, because the people cannot destroy themselves.

In conclusion, Comrade Ramiz asked those present to send his greetings to all the people of Peze.

Demonstrations, Rallies Cause Mixed Reactions

Alia Blamed for Student Protests

AU1612180290 Paris AFP in English 1651 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Ruzica Gravilovic report: "President Alia Clears First Hurdle of Reform Process]

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 16 (AFP)—With tanks and armored cars controlling major cities in Albania, President Ramiz Alia appeared Sunday to have cleared a hurdle in his attempts to bring gradual reforms to the last hard-line communist state in Europe.

As order was restored at the weekend after three days of rioting, he received backing across the political spectrum. Sources in Tirana cited by Belgrade newspapers said many Albanians believed Mr. Alia instigated the student protest movement in order to provide himself a pretext for the sacking last Tuesday of a hard core of orthodox communists opposed to his reforms.

Calm returned to the country Saturday after troops backed by tanks and armored vehicles regained control of the cities of Elbasan, Shkoder, Kavaje and Durres. Mr. Alia, who has been pushing a program of reforms of the orthodox communist system inherited from his predecessor Enver Hoxha, appeared to have support for the crackdown from students and intellectuals of the recently formed Democratic Party and from numerous other elements.

The Democratic Party, created on the campus of Tirana University in the hours following the official authorization Tuesday of a multi-party system, repeatedly declared its support for Mr. Alia's program and called for an end to the rioting, which it said "endangered the democratization process." Economist Gramoz Pashko, a leader of the new party and a popular figure among the students, told Agence France-Presse by telephone that the "hooligans"—the same word used by the government to describe the rioters—were "isolated people who who have nothing in common with the movement for democracy in Albania." He said the party supported the use of the army to put down the rioting.

In a message quoted Sunday by the news agency ATA, students in the city of Shkoder expressed their "profound indignation" regarding the "acts by hooligans and enemies of democracy," and called for their "punishment in conformity with current legislation." Writer Besnik Mustafaj told AFP by telephone that "the repetition of these types of incidents, which are in the interests of conservatives, threatens the continuation of the democratic process and risks leading us to anarchy."

The army delivered a message expressing its "desire to offer its efforts in the process of democratization," and the state-run media gave its support, also in the name of democracy. Mr. Alia himself, in a televised address on Wednesday, had differentiated between supporters of democracy and the "hooligans." On Saturday, in a statement carried by ATA, Mr. Alia said that "to ask for respect for law is no betrayal of democracy." He said the violence was all the more reprehensible because "the conditions for the development of authentic pluralist thought have been met, in theory and in practice."

The government said the rioting left 20 people injured. Both the Albanian press and independent sources said rioters in the provincial cities had looted stores and

struck at symbols of the communist regime, attacking local Communist Party headquarters, radio stations and town halls. The communist party newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT reported that a dozen people were injured in Shkoder, including two officers who had been stabbed and beaten with iron bars. Some thirty people were arrested in the city.

Shkoder Students, Others, Condemn Vandalism

AU1512200990

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian at 1900 GMT on 15 December devotes seven minutes of its regular 30-minute news broadcast to interviews with students from Shkoder and other areas. The announcer states: "Let us carry forward the process of the democratization of the country's life with stability, work, and dialogue—from the response to Comrade Alia's message to the Albanian people."

In a recorded interview, a student from the Luigj Gurakuqi Pedagogical Institute in Shkoder states: "We, as students of the institute, condemn the acts of vandalism those who took to the streets and destroyed the city our parents have built with their sweat. None of them was from the institute; we were not aware of them and had no contact with those who assembled in the city streets in this way. On the other hand, the police and other forces of order should have intervened faster to prevent such a destruction of the city." Three further students condemn the "hooligans."

A lecturer at the Institute states that "Our entire collective at the Luigj Gurakuqi Pedagogical Institute, teachers and students, are in total opposition to the attitudes of these hooligans who committed these acts and created distress not just for our institute but for the entire city. Students and teachers dissociate themselves utterly from such acts. They are in favor of the democratic processes taking place in our country, they welcomed with love the speech by Comrade Ramiz Alia the evening before last, and are increasingly discussing how we can find the best ways to develop the democratic process. The students were also subjected to pressure to join these hooligan acts, but we saw with our own eyes that they never became involved in them. Not a single student took part."

Interviews with workers in Shkoder, Tirana, and Polican also condemn the "vandalism."

New Democratic Party Supports Government

AU1512142990 Paris AFP in English 1349 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Nicolas Miletitch report]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, Dec 15 (AFP) Albanian troops were in control of main cities Saturday after three days of violent rioting left 20 people injured and caused more than two million dollars worth of damage, official sources said.

An Albanian journalist reached by telephone in Tirana said tanks and armored cars were deployed in the industrial city of Elbasan in the center of the country, as well as in Shkoder in the north and Kavaje and Durres in the west. Albanian television Friday showed pictures of extensive damage to Elbasan, the country's third largest city with 81,000 residents, where state radio said "hooligans manipulated children aged 10 to 14, forcing them to be accomplices in their horrible crimes." [passage omitted]

The Democratic Party, the country's new and so far only opposition party—it was formed Wednesday—issued a new appeal for calm on television Friday night, and Saturday said it supported the measues taken by the government to control the situation, according to a party advisor, economist Gramoz Pashko, who was contacted by telephone. And for the first time in 40 years, a priest was authorized to speak on Tirana radio to back the appeal for an end to the trouble. Monsignor Simon Jubani, the archbishop of Shkoder who was freed in 1989 after 22 years in prison, said in a brief statement that "such acts of vandalism go against the will of God."

An Albanian contacted by AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE said the fact the archbishop was given air time was considered an amazing developement. [passage omitted] Tirana radio, in its Serbo-Croatian broadcasts monitored here, said the riots Thursday in Shkoder lasted seven hours. It said the rioters smashed dozens of shop and other windows, and hauled off more than three million products from stores and warehouses. Overall damage in Shkoder was estimated at some 18 million leks (1.8 million dollars), and its "stocks of flour, oil, sugar and medicines have been considerably reduced," the report said.

It said the Shkoder demonstrators opened fire on army troops and police sent in to restore calm, and had tried to dynamite several buidlings, as well as a statue of Enver Hoxha, the founder of communist Albania who died in 1985. The opposition Democratic Party's initial appeal for calm televised Thursday warned the "agitators" that such acts "are jeopardizng and undermining democracy", but it went unheeded.

On Saturday, Mr. Pashko, speaking for the party, said "these hooligans are isolated people who have nothing in common with the democratic movement in Albania. "The Albanian Democratic Party supports the measures taken by the government to control the situation," he said.

The Albanian press also denounced the rioters as "vagabonds, unemployed and criminals." The Albanian Communist Party paper ZERI I POPULLIT printed several statements expressing support for Albanian President Ramiz Alia alongside reports of the rioting.

Writers Support Democracy, Condemn Violence

AU1412223290 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Unattributed report: "Democratic Measures, The Only Way to Democratic Solutions—Statement of the Writers and Artists of Albania"]

[Text] We writers and artists of Albania, finding ourselves together with our entire people in a new democratic situation, unconditionally support the efforts and large-scale movement of our entire society to find correct ways of democratic development under our specific conditions. The spirit of sincere dialogue and of advanced and cultured thinking shows once again the maturity and wisdom to [words indistinct], in the belief that this is the best road. We find this idea embodied not only in the progressive and democratic movement of the students and their decision to form the Democratic Party, but also in the measures taken by the 13th Albanian Workers Party Central Committee plenum to establish political pluralism.

The intensive final days of the year that is closing will enter the history of our people as a new page in the democratic development of Albania and its advance toward progressive modern European processes. Any immature act would be contrary to the spirit of these historic moments, and would lead to incalculable damage. Thus, the events in Kavaje and Shkoder have not only distressed public opinion, but have sullied the honesty and justice of the road on which our society has embarked. Our people have suffered from bloodshed perhaps more than any other, but at the key moments of their long and distinguished history, they have shed blood only for the noble ideal of the freedom and independence of their own country. They would never wish, at the end of this century, full of ideas of democratization and understanding, to see the vendetta reappear in other forms. This would be suicide, a sign of antidemocracy and primitivism. The impulses and passions of each individual should be turned to strength to give impetus to strengthening the people's unity, bringing people together, to give a further impulse to these first democratic steps. This is not a time for blind passions or a revival of the spirit of revenge which has often (?led to) massacres (?in which first blood has been shed and then tears). The times now tell us to place all our energies and intellectual energies in the service of reason, logic, and democracy. Let us be inspired by the moderation and wisdom of our Kosovar brothers, who have led us in their intellectual thinking and in their efforts to solve by peaceful means, under extremely difficult conditions, the most complicated issues involving their national existence. Our view coincides fully with that of Comrade Ramiz Alia in his message addressed to the Albanian people, that democracy comes only through democratic means and not through violence. [sentence as heard]

Public Urged To Support Militia

LD1512034490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0038 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] Ohrid, Southeastern Yugoslavia, December 14 (TANJUG)—The Albanian authorities this evening called on the Albanian people to help security forces in the effort to stop short 'hooligans threatening democratic processes started in Albania.

'Things taking place in the towns of Shkoder, Durres, Elbasan and Kavaje are an action of sinister forces which are acting in a hooligan-style manner, are posing a threat to the security of people's masses at large and are preventing democratic processes started in Albania,' Enver Halili, the justice minister, said during the Albanian TV evening newscast.

In a statement repeated in another newscast monitored at Ohrid, close to Yugoslavia's border with Albania, Halili appealed to militia (police) to take all measures so that protest rallies take place in line with the law in order to prevent hooligans from indulging in acts of intolerance.

'I think that this lies in the interest of the people's masses at large and I insist on their helping militia with overcoming the newly-arisen situation,' the Albanian minister added.

In the 2nd newscast, repeated were support to Ramiz Allia from a gathering at the Enver Hoxha Officers' School and filmed coverage of destructive acts at the hands of hooligans and vandals in several Albanian towns. The damage done is being estimated at millions of leks.

Also on Albanian TV, being sent are calls for a dialogue and a peaceloving solution, words the party is already introducing [words indistinct] and democracy are being repeated.

'Political Maturity, Dialogue' Requested

AU1512142890 Tirana ATA in English 1218 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] Tirana, December 15 (ATA)—We are experiencing a special situation. The decisions of the 13th plenum of the Central Committee and the message Comrade Ramiz Alia addressed to the people are pervaded by a great preoccupation and legitimate worry to attain the great demands of the party program for the democratization of the country's life and to overcome the difficulties deriving from the misinterpretations of these developments and illegal acts, the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT writes in its editorial.

The road of democratic developments is the only correct road, a road of quicker progress which has been welcomed by the entire people. Therefore, the appeal of Comrade Ramiz Alia addressed to the communists to be in the van of efforts should become a leitmotif and daily appeal for each party organization, for the working class, cooperativist peasantry, youth and intelligentsia.

More than ever we need to unite the forces and energies as honest patriots round a great cause, Albania's freedom and independence. This is the homeland's fundamental cause, mobilisation and unity for the people's cause, the national cause. This is what all of us are demanding. Our party itself has chosen the road of dialogue, debate as the road to promote democratization in all walks of life. We will continue this road but always relying on the people, wisdom, arguments and sound logic.

Political maturity, dialogue and tolerance with every individual, organisation or association recognised by law, the efforts that every step avoid excesses our ill-wishers wish, is the most important thing in the course of democratic processes.

Journalist Witnesses Unrest; Forced To Leave

AU1611201090 Vienna Television Network in German 1830 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Christian Hunger report]

[Text] [Announcer] Protest against the communist rulers is spreading in Albania. Both the police and Army are resorting to force in their fight against the demonstrators. As the only Western journalist, Christian Hunger was in Albania during the last few days for ORF, the Vienna television network. Because of the unrest he was requested to leave the country. Here we have his eye witness report:

[Hunger] The city of Shkodra in northern Albania. This is where the demonstrations started, from here the most severe clashes with the police and Army were reported. Tanks and soldiers have surrounded the headquarters of the communist party. The situation is tense. All shop windows were smashed in the last few days.

Similar pictures of devastation can be obtained in the industrial city of Elbasan and the port city of Durres. Although foreign visitors are shielded by the intelligence service and kept away from the events, we met demonstrators here. Their aggression was directed against the symbols—such as official cars—of the ruling power. There are only officials cars, private vehicles have always been banned.

In its main newscast, Albanian television only speaks of young hooligans who act against state interests and thus provoke military intervention.

The situation is tense but calm in the capital [city of] Tirana. Mass protests of students have been forcefully dissolved here too.

[Unidentified speaker] According to our information, 37 students had to be taken to a hospital.

[Hunger] The Western embassies, in which thousands of Albanians sought refuge last summer in an attempt to be permitted to leave the country, have now been enclosed by high walls and are closely protected. President Ramiz Alia is forced to take new reform steps almost on a daily basis. Yet, even he is unable to emerge from the shadow of his ancient Stalinist ideology. The government is blamed for the current shortage of food in the shops, which has even aggravated collective poverty in the country.

At the moment, the demonstrators are still being beaten by the police and the Army. Still, the calls for freedom and democracy cannot be ignored despite strict control and censorship. The period of communist dictatorship seems to be coming to an end even here in Albania. With rapid reforms and concessions the old rulers are attempting to retain their power. The question is how long they will be successful.

Official Questioned on Disturbances, Trials

LD1712090790 Tirana International Service in English 1830 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Interview with Chemal Ljama, "chairman of the General Inquest Office," by station correspondent (Anni Rutsi), in Tirana on 15 December—recorded in Albanian with superimposed English translation]

[Text] [Passage indistinct]. [Ljama] The development of the country's life, the democratization through the democratic road is their best solution. The whole of the people, the state and the party in power are interested about it. The current processes are linked with the complete democratization of their life. This is why greater care must be shown in regard to phenomena which can assume a voluntary character such as the latest events in Kavaje, Shkoder, Elbasan, and Durres about which the public has already become informed. This information has reflected the situation with truthfulness. The people have evaluated the democratic movement of the students and condemned with indignation the illegitimate and immoral acts of the hooligans.

[(Rutsi)] Can you tell us something about these measures and the results of the investigation so far?

[Ljama] The restricting measures have been adopted by the organs of law and order in regard to these acts. As a result of the inquiries made so far, 55 people have been arrested in Elbasan, 60 in Shkoder, 42 in Durres. The investigations are to be finished until tomorrow, and then these persons will face the trial. The acts carried out by them are of an ordinary character. They are accused of illegitimate gatherings.

(?The fact) of plundering the wealth of the people, as well as of carrying out acts of violence such as assassination attempts, serious and slightly wounding—World public opinion considers these acts of terrorism and vandalism. It emerges from the investigations that the persons who have carried out such acts have been previously imprisoned five or six times for similar acts. The sort of people with hooliganlike behavior do not enjoy the support of the social opinion. They are known as citizens with opposite (?stands) and acts with the rules of the morals of the citizens. Priority has been put to the investigation of

the arrested hooligans. The legal defense of the advocate is guaranteed to them. On 16th December these persons are going to face the trial. The trial will take place 24 hours after the indictment has been communicated to the accused. These penal measures have been welcomed by the public.

All the honest people, all citizens of Albania have differentiated themselves from these acts. In Elbasan, for example the hooligans exerted pressure to the students in order to force them join their ranks, but the students categorically refused to join their illegitimate gathering, but as soon as they have seen the character opposed to the law they differentiated themselves and refused to follow them. The same can be said about the (?sound) opinion and honest people in Kavaje and Durres.

[(Rutsi)] Can you explain to us why the forces of law and order did not intervene?

[Ljama] In general practice the questions why these acts have been allowed to take place and why were the acts of such hooligans allowed to last for a long time often arise. We must admit the fact that in our country the people are very closely related to one another and when such acts occur it's the organs of law and order which are the first to try to solve them through democratic roads, through dialogue, through conviction. Secondly, we must bear in mind the fact that we have no experience in regard to such phenomena. There have been no cases of illegitimate gatherings or of acts of violence, therefore the force of law and order have been unprepared to some extent. What is mentioned here is that our forces of law and order lack in number and [word indistinct] act in cases of mass gatherings.

In regard to this problem, on the basis of the concerns roused, immediate measures have been adopted to establish order, to preserve peace so that the people be secure and the life of citizens normally develop. The supreme state organs analyzed the situation, decided to further strenghten the forces of law and order to prevent such illegitimate acts and to guarantee the tranquillity of the citizens and the measures for gatherings on the basis of law. The police and the forces of law and order are at the service of the citizens, of all the democratic forces which act in conformity with the law. To further lead the democratic processes and create new parties a new law is to be endorsed these days on the political parties so that this new process emerged recently in our country will find the correct legal road.

Luan Omari on Rule of Law, Human Rights

AU1412150690 Tirana DRITA in Albanian 2 Dec 90 pp 5-7

[Prof. Luan Omari article: "The Rule of Law—A Demand of the Times"]

[Excerpts] The concept or term of "the rule of law" has begun to be used more often in our press and various political meetings. This concept, which has only recently won its "civil rights," is of course familiar to lawyers, but it must be said that even for them it was until recently a synonym for a bourgeois concept which was considered alien to and unacceptable for a socialist society and the socialist judicial order. This attitude to the concept of "the rule of law" was inherited from the dogmatic thinking of Soviet law schools, whose influence, as in other theoretical and practical fields, has been significant among us. As a result, entire generations of lawyers, through lectures, textbooks, and other publications, have been raised in a spirit of suspicion and rejection of the "a priori" character of this concept, as well as many other concepts which lie at the basis not only of justice in different countries, but at the foundations of judicial and political documents of a universal character such as the UN Charter and the CSCE's Helsinki Declaration.

It is well known that it was the bourgeoisie who developed the rule of law in the era of feudal absolutism and especially in the last century. This concept is tied to the work of the most distinguished thinkers of this period such as Locke, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Kant, and Hegel, as well as the lawyers Benjamin Constant and Georg Jelinek, followed by Rudolf von Gneist, who for the first time enlarged on the concept in a book in the seventies of the last century. [passage omitted]

The operation of the rule of law and its constant strengthening and improvement preclude any kind of intervention which could lead in however minor a way to the violation of the law or the prevention of its enforcement. Thus, no order, directive, or instruction from anybody whatsoever can be above the law.

Legality must be the principal means whereby the socialist state exercises its functions; however, this has not always been observed in practice. In certain cases, there has been no lack of struggle to strengthen legality and to eliminate and punish violations of it. Let us recall, among other such cases, the measures taken after the First Party Congress or after the 10th Central Committee plenum in December 1982, which led to a drastic fall in the number of trials and sentences for the crime of agitation and propaganda which had arisen as a result of an arbitrary interpretation and enforcement of the relevant article in the Penal Code, an article which, in the formulation which remained in force until May this year, left full scope for such behavior. This struggle against violations of legality was waged spasmodically, however, at certain times when the damage caused by such violations became evident. This struggle did not reach far enough to expose the roots of these violations, the causes which permitted them.

The decisions of the recent party Central Committee plenums—especially those of the 12th plenum—represent a turning point which creates an opportunity for a fundamental analysis of these root causes. The 12th plenum emphasized on the need to define a clear line of demarcation between the party and the state and to ensure the exclusive exercise of power by the relevant state bodies.

In every contemporary state (and not only in our state), the existence of one or more parties is an essential ingredient of political life. A party or a coalition of parties is at the head of every state. The party, however, even when it is in power, cannot be identified with the state. The party in power is merely the leading nucleus of the state, which doubtless guides the state's policy and exerts a powerful influence on it through its members and the decisions it makes. The rule of law, however, precludes the identification of the party with the state, a duplication of authority, or any overruling of the decisions of state bodies by party organs. In our case, such phenomena were a common occurrence and this could not fail to lead to passivity and a weakening of the role of state bodies and the violation of the acts it decreed, including the law, in the name of an instruction or directive issued by a party organ. Strengthening the rule of law and legality demands an end to such concepts and practices. The difficulty of achieving this is evident from the fact that there are still party committees which make decisions of a state character, laying down for instance the number of apartments to be built with voluntary help, even prescribing the relevant work plans, and which violate the principles of the economic mechanism and the autonomy of enterprises, ordering them to leave projects half finished in order to take up another mass action; which interfere in the work of the courts, sometimes trying to determine a verdict of guilt or innocence; which refuse to abandon attempts to interfere with cadre questions, even when these are not within their competence, on the pretext that cadre questions are a party monopoly. This principle, which was logical in the years when Albania lacked cadres and when their appointment to the appropriate posts was a vital issue on which the construction of socialism depended to no small degree, has now been redefined on the basis of decisions made by high-level party organs themselves, but it would be appropriate to review it yet again, within the framework of defining and expanding the competences of state bodies.

The shortcomings which have been noticed in the field of legality and the genuine operation of the rule of law also stem from an underestimation of the judicial component in social relations. It is well known that the classic world view of the bourgeoisie was judicial, just as the Middle Ages were dominated by the religious world view. This means that in the Middle Ages all natural and social phenomena were explained in the light of religion, while in the bourgeois era economic relations were largely explained in the light of justice. On the basis of this world view, the bourgeoisie unfairly made an absolute of the judicial aspect of economic and social relations, considering it to be their core, where it is in fact merely their outward form and is conditioned by the content of these relations. In our case, the opposite occurred. In the practical work of our state organs, economic organizations, etc., this judicial aspect was often neglected as something formal and secondary, whereas in fact form and content are inseparable. There were cases in which extreme positions were adopted, and the role of the judicial factor, the science of law, and the work of lawyers was minimized. There is no shortage of examples, starting from the abolition of the Ministry of Justice and the institution of attorneys in 1966, when they were considered superfluous layers of bureaucracy (again under the influence of analogous measures taken in China), failing to consider not only the long experience of all other countries but the positive experiences of our own country.

In pursuit of this standpoint, after the approval of the Constitution of the People's Socialist republic of Albania, an extreme ideologization took place, involving the excessive simplification of various codes, rejecting, alongside details which may have been superfluous, many rational and necessary norms.

The underestimation of the legal aspect was also reflected in the falling numbers of students enrolling at the Law Department of the Faculty of Political and Legal Sciences, which a few years ago fell to the low point of 13 (while in recent years it has increased, and 75 first-year students have been enrolled annually since 1988). [passage omitted]

Our legislation, which is in general progressive and up-to-date, provides for citizens' basic rights. The proclamation and realization of these rights, especially those of a social character, represents an important victory for our society, a victory which has its origins in the people's revolution, which overthrew old social relations. There is, however, room for changes and additions in the field of citizens' rights.

First, the time has come to remedy the anomaly whereby—despite theoretical declarations that the fundamental rights of citizens in a socialist society, as proclaimed in the Constitution, are legally and materially guaranteed—a range of laws which should elaborate on these rights and guarantee their effective enjoyment have still in fact not been approved. For instance, a law to specifically guarantee the right of the citizen to seek compensation from the state or its employees for harm caused by the illegal activities of state organs or their employees during the course of their duties; a law to define conditions for the activities of social organizations in order to guarantee the enforcement of Article 54 of the Constitution, which recognizes citizens' rights to join different organizations active in political, economic, and cultural life, etc. It would be a good thing to fill this gap as soon as possible, immediately after the approval of changes to the Constitution.

Second, as Comrade Ramiz Alia said in his report delivered at the most recent session of the People's Assembly, there is scope to review and extend the basic rights of citizens provided for in the Constitution.

In accordance with both the development of society itself in recent years and demands that the rights sanctioned by our legislations should also correspond to contemporary international standards and the criteria of the international organizations to which our state belongs or will

belong, it would be appropriate, in addition to the rights proclaimed so far, to add a range of other rights. First, those which exist in reality but which are not expressed in the Constitution—such as for example the right of a person to live and to be free and safe in his life; a clear enunciation of the principle of the presumption of a suspect's innocence until he is convicted by a court verdict; a categoric ban on the use of torture or punishment wish is cruel or degrading to the individual; and the right of each person to obtain effective redress through the responsible courts of any violation of the basic rights guaranteed by the Constitution and the laws.

Second, those citizens' rights which have been recently recognized on the basis of changes which have been made in legislation, such as the right to be supplied with a passport for free travel abroad, the right to an attorney from the moment when a person is placed under suspicion by the investigator, etc.

Third, other rights which are not in the Constitution today should be expected, such as freedom of conscience and religious belief; the freedom of every citizen to decide his own place of residence within the country; the right of a citizen to be informed of the activities of state bodies, etc. One important issue is to secure the protection of citizens' rights from arbitrary behavior on the part of administrative bodies, because most cases of the violation of individual rights occur precisely in this way. Up to this point, citizens have had the right to submit complaints about such behavior to higher administrative bodies, for instance to complain to the chairman of the Executive Committee of the District People's Council or, at a higher level, to appeal to the Office of Petitions under the Council of Ministers against the acts of a section chief. Such petitions are considered in a bureaucratic manner, often in a virtual closed circle, without any confrontation between the parties concerned; this does not provide an adequate guarantee of an objective consideration of the issue and its just solution, still less when in many cases the superior administrative body itself has been aware of and has given prior approval for the unjust act of its dependent body. The best way would, therefore, be to consider citizens' appeals in court, whether in the present courts, or in special administrative courts. [passage omitted]

Assembly Gives Popov Extension To Form Cabinet

AU1412184390 Sofia BTA in English 1737 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 14 Dec (BTA)—Judge Dimitur Popov, who is member of no political party, received five more days to form a new cabinet.

217 MP's voted in favour of these additional five days, 18 were against and seven abstained.

President Zhelev proposed that Mr. Dimitur Popov be granted seven more days for forming the new government. The continuing talks between the parliamentary political forces, the fact that they failed to sign an agreement after ten days of talks were his main motives.

The parliamentary faction of the Socialists, the Social Democrats, the MP's of "Ecoglasnost," of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms, of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and of the "Nikola Petkov" Bulgarian Agrarian Party also agreed that Mr. Popov should be given more time.

But some members of the opposition were against. The Radical Democrats declared themselves against the formula of forming the new cabinet fixed in the draft agreement: Neutral prime minister and equal distribution of the key ministries.

We need a strong and competent government and such a government cannot be formed by a neutral prime minister. The political forces are running to ground and do not want to undertake the responsibility because the new government will have to launch unpopular measures—this is the accusation of the Radical Democrats. The members of the Green Party were also categorical that the president should choose someone else for prime minister who would be acceptable for all forces represented in parliament.

Mr. Andrey Lukanov, whose cabinet is continuing to perform its functions, said that all alternatives to the "national government" formula are "futureless." Mr. Lukanov said that a lot of time is being wasted and this may lead to irreversible and dramatic consequences for the country.

Political Forces Agreement Read to Assembly

AU1412202790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1820 GMT 14 Dec 90

["Text" of "Agreement Between the Political Forces on Guaranteeing a Peaceful Transition to Democratic Society," initialed and submitted to the Grand National Assembly in Sofia on 14 December, read by unidentified reporters; live]

[Text] The political forces represented in the Grand National Assembly evaluate the country's current political situation as exceptionally complicated and tense. It is possible to overcome the existing situation through an agreement between the political forces on the basis of observing the rights and legitimate interests of each side and by fully observing and respecting the country's laws.

With this agreement the political forces are declaring their resolve to guarantee the further peaceful transition to a democratic society in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. They confirm that they are unconditionally guided in their activities by the following basic principles:

Confirmation of political pluralism as a basis of democratic society;

Participation of the political forces in exercising state power in accordance with the voters' will expressed by general elections and other legal means, which is the only source of state power;

Guarantee and protection of the rights and freedoms of all Bulgarian citizens, regardless of race, sex, political convictions, or their affiliation with any religious or ethnic group, on the basis of full equality before the law and without any discrimination;

Providing guarantees against any forms and manifestations of discrimination, persecution, illegal and forcible actions for political activities, affiliations, or convictions.

In accordance with the aforementioned guarantees and in acknowledging the political and legal necessity of guaranteeing the irreversible nature of the democratic changes, in fully observing the Constitution and the country's laws, the political forces are guaranteeing and committing themselves to the Bulgarian people and to the international community to do everything within their power to guarantee as follows:

Concerning Parliament

The Grand National Assembly is the only nationwide, representative organ elected on the basis of the Bulgarian people's freely expressed will. All contradictions connected with the peaceful transition to democratic society are to be solved on the basis of the law and through the institution of parliamentary democracy. All illegal attempts against the state organs are to be prosecuted and punished on the basis of the country's laws. The state organs and the judicial organs are acting within the framework of their competences accorded by the laws and the Constitution. The work of the Grand National Assembly should be improved through a legislative program which should play a major role in its activities. All other questions related to administrative and executive matters should be placed within the competence of the special commissions, or be solved in accordance with the parliament's control functions.

The legislative activities of the Grand National Assembly [word indistinct] should focus on the drafting and adoption of the following acts: The Constitution, the laws on agricultural activities, on the territorial organization, the election law, and the law on privatization.

The legislative program should include the following bills by the end of 1990 that should be prepared and submitted to the plenary sessions:

The bill on amnesty; the bill on amendments and addenda to the Penal Code; bill on amendments to the Pension Law; bill on agriculture; bill on local government and territorial organization; bill on election of local government organs; bill on amendments and addenda to the Public Health Law; and the seventh bill [number as heard], namely a decision on the leadership and activities of Bulgarian Television and Bulgarian Radio.

In January 1991 the Grand National Assembly should draft and submit the following acts to the plenary sessions:

A bill on the sale, privatization, and transformation of state and municipal enteprises; a bill on the state budget, a bill on national security and on the police; a bill on the National Bank; a bill on the banking and credit departments; a bill on taxation and [word indistinct]; a bill on competition; and a bill on the [word indistinct].

By the end of January 1991 separate drafts on the country's new constitution should be submitted.

By February 1991 the draft on the constitution of the Republic of Bulgaria should be submitted. The same applies to the bill on pensions and social security, to the bill on amendments and addenda to the Labor Code, and a bill on civil servants.

By March 1991 the constitution should be adopted and an election law should be passed.

In connection with the implementation of the aforementioned program the political forces signing the agreement commit themselves to render full and wholehearted support to the parliament's work.

As to the bills submitted to parliament, the political forces should strive for parliamentary consensus.

In accordance with the legislative program the elections for the local government organs should take place in February-March 1991, and general elections should take place by the end of May, or the first days of June 1991.

To contribute to the implementation of the legislative timetable a special group in charge of the agenda and on all questions concerning the work of parliament should be established with the participation of representatives from the Grand National Assembly parliamentary groups. The representatives of the groups should propose all necessary measures for the financial, technical, consultative, and material prerequisites guaranteeing the efficient work of the parliament. To facilitate the parliamentary activities the necessary organizational measures should be ensured in accordance with the [words indistinct].

Concerning the Government

A national government for a peaceful transition to democracy is being formed. Its main task is to create the administrative and institutional foundations of a market economy and the democratic state organization for the purpose of overcoming the totalitarian system.

The government's term of office is limited to the election of a new parliament by parliamentary elections. The political forces which signed this agreement commit themselves to render their full and active support for the government's work within and outside the parliament, as long as the government observes the law and copes with the tasks entrusted to it, and commit themselves to oppose all attempts at restricting its functions by illegal, or extra-parliamentarian means.

The main trends in the government's work are the following:

To prepare and submit bills and regulations on institutional changes in accordance with the Grand National Assembly's legislative timetable.

To ensure public order and peace in the country.

To prepare the elections for local and central state power organs.

To implement measures for the population's basic needs and for the maintenance of vitally important economic factors during the 1990-1991 winter season.

To adopt the first steps for the stabilization of domestic and foreign economic relations, by implementing a reorientation of the economic policy, by overcoming the deficit in the current balance of payments for 1991, and by reducing the [word indistinct] of the money and commodity market, by exercising control over [passage indistinct].

To initiate the drafting and submit to the Grand National Assembly the basic economic legal acts and [words indistinct].

[Passage indistinct]. To guarantee, without any discrimination, the rights and freedoms of all Bulgarian citizens based on equality before the law, regardless of his political convictions, or affiliation, and regardless of his affiliation with any religious, or ethnic group.

The composition of the government is determined on the basis of consensus among the political forces in the course of consultations conducted with the candidate for the post of premier.

Candidacies for the members of government are presented by the major political forces. The ministerial posts in the field of economy and finances, defense, internal affairs, foreign affairs, foreign economic relations, and domestic trade are distributed on a party basis between the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and the opposition.

Concerning the Provisional Executive Committees and Provisional Administrations

The political forces state that their representatives appointed to the provisional leaderships of the oblasts and townships should promptly take over the functions entrusted to them. These organs are in charge of important tasks related to the problems of the local population and to the preparation of forthcoming local elections.

Concerning the Political Forces

The political forces commit themselves to devoting all their activities in parliament and outside it to guaranteeing, above all, the norms of civic society and to guaranteeing the human rights of all citizens in the Republic of Bulgaria. They should provide guaranatees against persecution of individuals and organizations.

The political forces commit themselves on a priority basis to contributing to the adoption of a law on amending the Penal Code in connection with preventing the persecution of an individual for his political affiliation and convictions. They must provide legal guarantees against the application of all forms of discrimination of citizens for their social origins, for their own political affiliation, or ideological convictions, and for those of their relatives.

In connection with exercising economic, social, cultural and civil rights, including appointment to state positions, the only criteria for citizens to be appointed to such positions should be his abilities and professional qualifications. These criteria should be included in the new legislation on civil servants.

The political forces commit themselves in their activities not to permit the adoption of discriminatory legal acts which ban political parties and social organizations from exercising their functions in accordance with the law. They should declare their readiness to oppose all forms of inciting, propaganda, and appeals, or actions aimed at banning, or persecuting a political party which is acting in according with the country's Constitution and legislation.

Concerning Responsbility

The BSP, as the successor of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] is assuming the political responsibility for the country's government for the last decades. Only the voters and history are entitled to pronounce themselves on this responsibility. The responsibility can be judged only according to the country's laws by the competent law dispensing organs while their total independence should be guaranteed.

In this connection the political forces appeal to the Prosecutor's Office urging it to accelerate the adoption of the relevant measures in strict accordance with the law.

The political forces shall assist the parliamentary commissions in establishing the causes of the economic and political crisis in the country, in adopting procedures guaranteeing the obligatory submission of all materials and facts, and the relevant statements by persons which are required for the activities of the parliamentary commissions, so that they may complete their work by the end of March 1991.

The information about people who have admitted breaches of law should be submitted by the enquiry commission to the competent organs for examination and to seek the relevant penal, administrative, financial, and other responsibilities.

Concerning Property

All parties, coalitions, sociopolitial organizations, the youth and trade union organizations included, are expected to submit detailed reports on their property and on the manner of their acquisition between 31 December 1989 and 31 December 1990. They must also account for their incomes in domestic and foreign currency, and on their expenditures in 1990.

Property acquired on the basis of state subsidies, obtained free of charge, or on the basis of compulsory confiscations to the advantage of parties, [word indistinct], and organizations, with the exception of subsidies granted for the elections in 1990, should be restored to the state, with the exception of means required for the minimal needs of the organizations in question.

In connection with these minimal needs, it has been agreed, that on the basis of special lists, these reports should be submitted to the Grand National Assembly as of the date [word indistinct].

[Passage indistinct]. All deals made by political parties, coalitions, sociopolitical, and district organizations which were concluded after 10 November 1989 should be submitted to the control Commission on Parties' Revenues, Expenditures, and Properties of the Grand National Assembly.

The parties and the other social organizations, the trade unions, and [word indistinct] whose properties have been forcibly expropriated should submit their requests for restoration of their material losses to the Legislative Commission, to the Commission on Control Over the Revenues, Expenditures, and Properties of Parties under the Grand National Assembly and to the relevant judicial organs.

The trade unions should submit full information on the manner of having acquired their property.

The [words indistinct] organs must submit information on the trade union budgets, on their property, and on the manner of disposing of this property. [Passage indistinct].

Data on documents concerning the activities of political parties should be included in the following context:

Documents containing information on the activities of state organs and organizations concerning the period prior to 10 November 1989 should be unrestrictedly

submitted to the consumers on the basis of the Law on the State [word indistinct] Fund and on the basis of the code of regulations on its application.

With the permission of the respective party organ, documents containing information on strictly party matters, such as party membership, documentary files on personal party matters, concerning punished members, or acts of the control-auditing commissions, data concerning the structure of party organs and organizations, relations with foreign parties, and so forth, should be submitted for use by consumers. Such documents should be submitted for use with the permission of the relevant party organs.

Documents with mixed contents should be submitted to the relevant expert commissions in charge of preparing a point of view on the method of their preservation and use.

An expert commission composed of representatives of the Main Archives Adminstration and from the relevant party and departmental aktivs should be established and placed in charge of preparing a document on the implementation of the aforementioned decisions within a month.

Concerning Public Order

The political forces assume the obligation of guaranteeing a voluntary moratorium on political actions [words indistinct] against the government by political and social organizations [?and trade unions]. The political forces find that it is inadmissible to involve (?people) in political activities, strikes, and [word indistinct] which violate the law.

In accordance with the order established in the Law on Political Parties, it is necessary to adopt measures for halting all political activities [words indistinct] implemented by trade union organizations.

Trade union and other organizations which engage in political activities must register as political parties or their activities will be suspended. Efforts to exert pressure on the work of administrative and economic leaders by political forces should be suspended.

At the same time the political forces urge that no arbitrary actions, illegal dismissals, or similar repressive measures should be applied in holding people responsible for their participation in trade union and other activities which are against the law.

It is necessary that all illegal acts be sanctioned by the competent organs. This includes sit-ins, blocking of traffic, illegal strikes, and so forth.

The political forces declare their readiness to support the competent organs in observing the law which is necessary for safeguarding the [words indistinct], the health, and the rights and freedoms of citizens.

All attempts of political parties, organizations, and movements to exert pressure and to involve people in political actions against the Armed Forces, the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the Prosecutor's Office should be banned. No organized political activities should be allowed in state organs and among their employees under the form of [word indistinct] of political organizations.

[Passage indistinct]. The trade unions must assume the commitment to abstain from strikes during the period preceding the introduction of the new constitution in various industrial branches and enterprises which are of crucial importance for the functioning of the national economy.

Solutions to trade union problems should be found on the basis of the regulations within the legal system of settling labor disputes.

Concerning the Policy of Nationality Questions

In the process of democratization of public life and in the process of integration of the nation it is necessary to start forming a concept on the nationality question in accordance with a sovereign, sensible, lasting, consistent, and pragmatic state policy [word indistinct]. The mistakes which the nationality policy of the past decades committed should be corrected. No partisanship or narrow-minded party opportunism should interfere with the achievement of a consensus between the political forces which should legally resolve the aspects of the nationality question.

The citizens should be guaranteed their rights and [word indistinct] pluralism on the basis of a democratic legal system. The obligations assumed by Bulgaria on the basis of international treaties and agreements on human rights which do not contradict the interests of national security, public order, the moral and physical health of the citizens should be observed.

The national security, territorial integrity, and sovereignty of Bulgaria as a single-nation and indivisible state should be guaranteed.

All propaganda and political activities aimed at autonomy on a religious, or ethnic basis, or on any other form of territorial separation, and the fanning of nationalist, chauvinist, and extremist passions should be banned.

In applying the legislation and adminstrative regulations the authorities should keep in mind Item No. 10 of the Grand National Assembly Declaration adopted on 15 January 1990.

Any pressure whatsoever over citizens concerning their self-determination to any religious, or ethnic community whatsoever is banned.

The Parliamentary Commission on Human Rights and on the Nationality Issue should within one month express its opinion on cases in which the religious affiliation is taken advantage of for to exert such pressure.

Consistent actions for economic, social, and spiritual authority in areas which are of strategic importance for our national unity should be promoted in the purpose achieving fully equal rights and opportunities of all citizens.

Concerning Television and Radio

The political parties agree that by 31 December 1990 the parliamentary commission on television and radio should submit to the plenary session of the Grand National Assembly a provisional draft statute on the work of Bulgarian Television and Radio.

By 10 January 1991 the commission should discuss and propose to the Grand National Assembly (?nominees) and candidates for chairmen of the Bulgarian Radio and Television.

By 10 January 1991 the commission should discuss and submit to the Grand National Assembly a bill on the Bulgarian Television and Radio.

The political forces agree to halt any political activities within the Bulgarian Television and Radio in accordance with the decisions of the national roundtable and the Law on Political Parties in Bulgaria.

Party Leaders Endorse Agreement, Voice Doubts

AU1412223390 Sofia BTA in English 2025 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 14 Dec (BTA)—After having endorsed the agreement between the parliamentary political forces tonight, the leaders of the political parties expressed doubt in the possibilities for its ratification. The reason: Its coming into force is bound up with the formation of a new cabinet. And the most difficult problem of the negotiations, which continued for a fortnight, was that of the government, and more specifically, that of the Ministry of the Interior.

Today leaders of political parties represented in parliament endorsed the text of the agreement which will be discussed in the parliamentary factions. Today the MP's voted to grant Mr. Dimitur Popov five more days for his effort to form a new cabinet.

The agreement is conditional, said Mr. Chavdar Kyuranov, representative of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party]. He sees no possibilities for a compromise between the BSP and UDF [Union of Democratic Forces—SDS] on the Ministry of the Interior issue—both sides have adopted equally firm stands.

Most probably the political forces will continue their negotiations on the Ministry of the Interior through the mediation of the president.

Though it does not promise much, this first step to understanding among the political forces is viewed as necessary by representatives of different parties because it puts off the solution of the political crisis and may reassure society.

Today's signatures were simply a sign of goodwill, a UDF leader said.

According to an opposition MP the chances for real understanding between the BSP and the opposition are minimal because that would mean that the BSP has a strategy for a gradual and peaceful ceding of its power.

According to Mr. Dimitur Ludzhev of the UDF, the talks have achieved certain progress on the structure of the government—it was agreed to reduce the number of ministries and to narrow their functions.

Trenchev Criticizes Political Forces 'Indecision'

AU1612203590 Sofia BTA in English 1849 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Text] Plovdiv, 16 Dec (BTA)—In a speech addressed to the Regional Conference of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation the president of Podkrepa, Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, mentioned that as everybody knows where his information about Petur Beron's being involved with the Secret Services comes from, it is only proper to refer all questions or even reproaches to the president. "Let the president take up the job, we've fulfilled our part of the program," he stated.

Further on the trade union leader sharply criticized the political forces for their indecision which, according to him, sometimes looks very much like political cynicism. "This political indecision does not work for the benefit of the future of the opposition, on the contrary it shows that the opposition is immature," Dr. Trenchev said. He doubts that Judge Dimitur Popov would manage to form a new cabinet. According to Dr. Trenchev the Ministry of the Interior is not the only problem. Some ministries are not desired, for example the Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare which is responsible for the problems the trade unions are trying to tackle. Nobody wants to head the Ministry of Agriculture, he said.

Dr. Trenchev diagnosed these circumstances by saying that they are "a syndrome of avoiding power". "Everybody knows it is going to be very difficult and nobody wants to assume responsibility. But if a cabinet is not formed (which is very likely), obviously the country will have a caretaker government of experts."

Zhelev Discusses Current Situation, New Cabinet

AU1412160090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1236 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Interview with President Zhelyu Zhelev by Yasen Indzhev, on "topical issues related to the country's situation"; place not given—live]

[Text] [Indzhev] Mr. President, first of all, I would like to express my gratitude to you for this interview. The

complicated political situation in the country and the recurrent rumors, of which you and your team are a target, prompted me to ask you for this short interview. Let us get right to the questions. I understand that some of them might seem provocative at first glance, but these are questions which many journalists ask themselves, therefore, I am beginning with a direct question. Is it true that you and your team were first to receive the files on certain political leaders and Grand National Assembly deputies? In this connection I would like to ask you the following three questions:

My first question is: Has the information leaked from the president's office? My second question is has parallel information been submitted to the forces outside parliament? The third question do you have any available data, indicating that certain foreign secret services have submitted their own information to forces outside parliament?

[Zhelev] The Presidency has not been given any facts and data on the files of political leaders, or members of parliament, and I think that this would be absolutely inappropriate. The fact that according to Constitution I am the supreme commander of the Armed Forces, does not mean that I should be the supreme policemen of the country and have control over personal files.

In answering this question I can tell you that such data and facts on members of parliament and the forces outside the parliament has never been submitted to us, such information has not reached us, and no files whatsoever have ever been submitted to my office.

As to the question of foreign secret services, I do not know anything. This is the first time I have heard such a thing from you. I am the last to borrow information from such services about Bulgarian political leaders, or parliament members, whoever they are. Only Beron's file was submitted to the president's office and that was at my insistence. I instructed the minister of internal affairs to do so because it is my prerogative. I asked him to bring me Petur Beron's personal file since the daily DUMA published an article which hinted about some informer under the assumed name of Boncho, or something of this kind. People called my attention to this. From various places people warned me also that such rumors are being spread about Beron, and therefore, I asked the interior minister to submit Petur Beron's file which I personally examined in his presence. After I got acquainted with the facts of the file, I asked Petur Beron to withdraw from his two official posts, since having been connected with the secret services in such a manner, would make it inappropriate for him to be leader of the opposition and of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] parliamentary group. The more so, since there was a chance for him to become prime minister, according to the developing circumstances, and in such a case he could have been dependent on such services, or on people who possessed similar information about him. It should be understood that a person susceptible to blackmail of this kind cannot be head of government. Petur Beron had the dignity of withdrawing from his two positions [words indistinct].

This is all I can say about the files. In addition to this, I considered it my duty to warn and to inform the political parties of the SDS about these facts. There is nothing more in connection with the files that could be linked to the president's office. This is all.

[Indzhev] Mr. Zhelev, the following question is not dealing with the bare facts, but we would still like to ask you, as a politician, to make an evaluation about whom is supposed to benefit from the action of disclosing files, and whether you think that this is a new attempt at destabilizing our society by discrediting political leaders?

[Zhelev] I agree with your statement, I think that this is more or less true. Nevertheless, if we should regard the question from a purely moral point of view, under a moral-politial aspect, we should not only disclose the people who have been involved in the services in one or another way, but also reveal the identity of people who have involved them and unmask the institutions which were connected with such activities. The question concerns the the No. 6 Department [of the former Interior Ministry], in particular. I think that certain people are really eager to take advantage of the files to destabilize our society and the Bulgarian opposition, in particular. I do not know who they have files on, or who has ever had such connections, or not, but the disclosure of such facts naturally prompts suspicions. It creates distrust and thus contributes to the destabilization of our society. Certain circles exist which are interested in such things and they would like to use the files as a weapon, being convinced that there is no equal, reciprocal weapon which could be used against them. The files were compiled by certain people and I think that the responsibility lies with those who have created this system and who have put it into operation. I think that television, and the other mass media [passage indistinct].

[Indzhev] I would like for the time being to set aside the questions about the files to ask you a question which has been recently discussed by the mass media. Certain journalists have propagated the version that it is the objective of the president's office to take advantage of the Grand National Assembly's Christmas vacation, and in case the political agreement should not be signed, or to put it more precisely, in case the government should not be formed, to announce parliamentary elections ahead of schedule, and use the time until those elections to introduce a de facto presidential government (not de jure, because the Constitition does not allow it), which will be the only legitimate institution during the period in question. According to this version, which I continue to cite, you are supposed to make this announcement during your New Year's Greeting Address to the Bulgarian people. I am aware that this is absolutely preposterous, I perfectly realize how utterly ridiculous this version is, but nevertheless....

[Zhelev] Yes, one must have a very vivid imagination to imagine such a situation in which a presidential government is being announced with [word indistinct]. In the first place, our Constitution does not allow this, and if the head of state should permit himself to make such an announcement it would be a gross violence of the Constitution, it would almost be a state coup. Therefore, such a thing has never come to my mind. There is even more: I have always opposed forces or individual political groups which would like to push things in this direction, and are even trying to insinuate through the mass media that presidential government is necessary. I always declared my categorical opposition to this, because there is only one step from presidential government to military dictatorship, there is just no other way of acting if things should go so far.

If any tensions should arise under a presidential government in Bulgaria, the only way out would be to have recourse to the Army. You know what this means and, therefore, I am categorically opposed to such a government, it would mean a violation against the Constitution of the Republic of Bulgaria, it would mean that I should betray my oath to the Grand National Assembly, according to which I pledged to fully observe and respect all articles of this this country's Constitution.

[Indzhev] Let me ask you one more question, perhaps the last one, unless you would like to address our listeners on some particular question. I feel obliged to ask you about your stand on the demand of a group of Socialists in Kurdzhali that you should apologize for having offended the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], a party which belongs to the past.

[Zhelev] I do not think that this action was the result of a misunderstanding and while I dare not say that it was the result of ill will, I presume that this definition would be more appropriate. My statement to the Grand National Assembly was quite unmistakable: I explained why a politician such as Lukanov was incapable of forming an effectively operating government in the two subsequent cabinets he headed. I see the reason for this, and this was clearly stated, in the fact that the BSP is a party which is about to part with power. This is a statement which anyone can make, it was on other occasions, and I absoluteley do not consider this as a shortcoming of the party. It is my conviction that the capacity of the BSP to separate itself from the state with which it had merged, to part with state power to which it was so closely linked in a form of state-party symbiosis, guarantees its future chances of surviving as a political party and of further evolving as a modern, contemporary Western European party. I have never said that I deny this party's future, that I deny its right of having a future. This is nonsense. I do not understand the logic of people who are convinced that if their party steps down from power—a fact which can be decided only by the Bulgarian people, by the Bulgarian voters on the basis of elections—would mean the mean the party's total decline. This is pure nonsense. Is this not precisely the essence of the democratic process? It consists of the cycle in which one party comes into power, while other parties are parting with state power. This is the natural, democratic process. Look at Great Britain, where the Labor Party has not ruled for the last decade; it has been out of power. Does this mean that this party has no future, that it has lost its chances for the future? This applies to all other parties, let us take the succession of the two parties in the United States. When one party is ruling, the other is in opposition, but the one which is not ruling has not lost its chances as a party. I think that the aforementioned BSP people are the victims of a totalitarian way of political thinking, and hence, are inclined to such misunderstandings.

Personally, I am convinced that the BSP has every chance to develop as a modern, left-wing party of a Western European type, like the French Socialist Party, or the party of Felipe Gonzalez in Spain, or like the Labor Party in Britain, or it can even remain what it is, but develop into a type of modern, left-wing party which in the future multiparty system in Bulgaria, will be standing left of the center, alone, or in coalition with other affiliated parties. This is so pefectly natural and normal, that I do not understand the logic of the Kurdzhali people, except if it should conceal other considerations which are beyond the framework of logical thinking. There is even more: I have so far categorically opposed all insinuations that if this party [the BSP] should one day lose the power, it should be banned. I think that this would be the worst that could happen in Bulgaria. This would mean to restore the situation which existed following 9 September 1944 in Bulgaria, when the opposition was forcibly destroyed, thrown out, and eliminated from public life.

Expects New Government in 3 Days

AU1612203390 Sofia BTA in English 1938 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 16 Dec (BTA)—In an interview aired on television this evening President Zhelyu Zhelev expressed his optimism over the future of the reform in Bulgaria.

Dr. Zhelev announced that the negotiations between the political forces had made a great progress and expressed his conviction that Bulgaria would have a new government in three days. He gave some details about the possibility of finding a mutually acceptable solution to the key problem of the Ministry of the Interior.

In the president's opinion the two main political forces are exaggerating to a certain degree the importance of the Ministry of the Interior. According to him the basic components of the civil society have already been built up in Bulgaria, besides the Ministry of the Interior is no longer "the omnipresent and omnipotent" State Security of the totalitarian regime. Dr. Zhelev also announced that as a result of the reform carried out at the ministry many leaders and employees of the previous regime had been dismissed.

He stressed the key role of the Bulgarian parliament and called upon it to draw up the new constitution and adopt the most important laws which would start the reform in Bulgaria the soonest possible.

He warned that if Bulgaria is slow in carrying out the reform, it could be fatal for the country's future and pointed out that the developed Western countries are already "impatient and somewhat disappointed" because the changes in Bulgaria are too slow to come.

The president said that the idea about "a presidential government" put forward by certain circles was not serious, no matter what the term may mean. He declared his resolution to observe the Constitution and the law.

Replying to a question about the students' sit-in strike, he pointed out that particular attention should be paid to the means and methods used to further the democratic process in Bulgaria. If these means and methods are not democratic and if people's basic rights and freedoms are not respected, including those of one's opponents, then the "natal blotches on the face of Bulgarian democracy can turn into a genetic deformation," the president said.

Interior Ministry Problem 'May Be Solved'

AU1512153890 Sofia BTA in English 2028 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 14 Dec (BTA)—According to Mr. Ivaylo Trifonov, chief of the president's office, the Ministry of the Interior—the key problem of the talks on the new cabinet, may be solved.

He told journalists today that the National Office in Defence of the Constitution—the former Security and Protection Office (UBO)—may be separated from the Ministry of the Interior. There are also other versions for the solution of this problem.

According to Mr. Trifonov the representatives of the political forces have agreed on the cabinet formula: a neutral prime minister and equal distribution of the key ministries.

Mr. Trifonov is of the opinion that Mr. Dimitur Popov will succeed in forming the new cabinet.

President Zhelev will visit Germany after the local elections probably in March. At the end of February he will pay a visit to Czechia [as received] and Slovakia at the invitation of President Vaclav Havel, Mr. Trifonov said.

Sofia University Students Call Off Strike

AU1512153490 Sofia BTA in English 2346 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 14 Dec (BTA)—The Sofia University sit-in, which continued for more than 40 days, has been called off. Classes will be resumed on Monday [17 December].

On the evening of November 5 the students occupied the university after the government's failure to satisfy their demands: that the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] admits its responsibility for the crisis, that its property is nationalized, that the informers of the former State Security are made known to the public, that the results of the inquiries into the legitimacy of the parliamentary elections in June are announced and some social demands. Later they also insisted on the resignation of the socialist government of Mr. Andrey Lukanov. Gradually the wave of strikes spread and covered 70 educational establishments throughout the country and some concrete local demands were added to the basic ones.

The students were the most active and persevering during the general strike declared by the Podkrepa Labour Federation demanding Mr. Andrey Lukanov's resignation.

The students exercised similar political pressure during the demonstrations in June and July which brought about the resignation of former president Petur Mladenov.

Calling the strike off in July the strike committees remained ready for action until the satisfaction of their demands.

On November 29 Mr. Andrey Lukanov handed in his resignation. But he repeatedly stated that he did not do this under the pressure of the street but in the interest of society. The parliament passed a resolution for the Inquiries Commission to elaborate a methodology for studying and opening the files of the State Security informers. The Mandate Commission inquiring into the legitimacy of the elections announced that it will soon be ready with the final results. The Bulgarian Socialist Party declared that it gives up a considerable part of its property but it did not link this decision with the demands of the students.

At a meeting of the Academic Council of the "St. Kliment Okhridski" University in Sofia today, attended both by representatives of the strike committees and by students who were against the strike, it became clear that the sides "for" and "against" the strike have no differences in principle on the syndical demands.

It was decided to resume classes on Monday, December 17. New participation quotas in the general assembly of the university were determined: the percentage of academic rank lecturers was reduced from 60 to 51 per cent and that of students and post-graduate students was increased from 20 to 30 per cent. Lecturers who do not have an academic rank will form 15 per cent of the assembly and retired lecturers and officials will form 2 per cent each.

The sit-ins in most of the remaining higher educational establishments have also been called off. The strike is continuing in those establishments in which some local demands have not been satisfied.

Turkish Daily Interviews President Zhelev

Discusses Secret Service Actions

NC1312095790 Istanbul GUNAYDIN in Turkish 10 Dec 90 p 9

[First of two installments of interview with President Zhelyu Zhelev by Osman Ikiz in Sofia; date not given]

[Excerpts] Sofia, (GUNAYDIN)—[Ikiz] You know about the rumors that Bulgaria has been involved in shady activities. These rumors say that mafia leaders established headquarters in Sofia, that the mafia and the Bulgarian Secret Service were involved in the assassination attempt on the pope, and that the Kintex Company sold arms to the right-wing organizations in Turkey. Like the other new leaders in Eastern Europe, do you want to try to bring those dark activities out in the open?

[Zhelev] I support the idea of revealing the whole truth. We will do that when we compile all of the information we need. We are ready to shed light on the incidents that have cast an inauspicious shadow on Bulgaria. [passage omitted]

[Ikiz] The Turks in Bulgaria still have many grievances. Restoring their original names, in particular, is a long process. Furthermore, the Turks do not want to retain suffixes such as "of" or "ev" at the end of their last names. Will the majority of the deputies in parliament support the Rights and Freedom Movement's draft law, drawn up in accordance with the demands of the Turks in Bulgaria?

[Zhelev] We are very clear about that. Those who want to keep their original names must be able to do so. The procedure is subject to the decision of the courts. However, the process must become a bureaucratic procedure in the local administrations. The Bulgarization of names was an oppressive measure and not an administrative procedure. This primitive approach conflicts with the existing conditions; thus, original names must be restored. Furthermore, freedom of religion must be recognized and the ethnic issue must be accepted. All of these problems must be solved. Democratic reforms will insure these basic human rights, and Bulgaria's problems will be resolved this way. Resolving the ethnic problems before democratic reforms are established is impossible. Thank God these matters are being considered with all the other problems, and efforts are being made to solve them.

[Ikiz] Relations between Bulglaria and Turkey were strained at about this time in 1989. However, the process of softening is over, and the two countries are at a point that will enable them to establish friendly relations and cooperation. How has this development been achieved and how do you assess the future developments?

[Zhelev] Relations between the two countries developed quickly as a result of Prime Minister Lukanov's talks with President Turgut Ozal in Turkey, and my talks with President Turgut Ozal in New York. Our relations are developing quickly now. [passage omitted]

We have been promised support in various fields. For example, Turkey has proposed economic cooperation in the Black Sea region, suggesting that the two countries can play a leading role in establishing economic cooperation there. This is an important proposal and an idea that corresponds to developments in Europe and in the world at large. The subsequent relations will provide an opportunity to repair the damage done during the Zhivkov era.

[Ikiz] Bulgaria's relations with Turkey gave momentum to democratization in your country. Do you think developments are satisfactory? Are you pleased with the distance covered in the democratization process?

[Zhelev] The democratic process is continuing. Although the pace of development in Bulgaria can be described as slow, we are moving faster than the Soviet Union. [passage omitted] A look at Bulgaria's history will show that we have covered a significant distance during the past year. The former totalitarian system, the party monopoly, and the intermixing of the party and the state have been removed from the political domain. Initial economic measures are aimed at ending the domination of this monopoly in the infrastructural establishments. Eventually we will complete the economic reforms, a process that is difficult to achieve. Ending the economic monopoly will facilitate political reorganization.

We tried to bring about reforms in Bulgaria three years after the Soviet Union started to effect changes. However, we are now one year ahead of the Soviet Union. A united opposition is only now being established in the Soviet Union, particularly in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. This example demonstrates that reforms are being initiated in Bulgaria quickly.

Views Improved Turkish Relations

NC1512075590 Istanbul GUNAYDIN in Turkish 11 Dec 90 p 9

[Final of two installments of interview with President Zhelyu Zhelev by Osman Ikiz in Sofia; date not given]

[Excerpts] [Ikiz] Although Turkey has lived in peace with its neighbors ever since it has become a republic, Bulgarians continue to be apprehensive. Will this apprehension, which stems from history, not be eliminated at all? Will the Bulgarian people not look upon Turkey and the Turkish people as a friendly country and people?

[Zhelev] I am convinced that this problem will be resolved with the help of the outcome of the Vienna conference and through the move that will be made to maintain the strength of the armed forces at a logical and required level. The fact that Turkey is a powerful country and the Turkish Army is the largest military force after the United States within NATO has made some Bulgarians apprehensive. This is due to the fact that Turkey is the only country which can be a source of

potential danger for Bulgaria. Nevertheless, I am convinced that an outbreak of war in Europe is impossible. War can only break out if a mad person were to push an automatic button to activate some armaments. Other than in such an exceptional situation, a war is not possible. [passage omitted]

The Turkish chief of the General Staff will visit Bulgaria, and his Bulgarian counterpart will then return his visit. Both military and civilian visits will continue at lower levels as well. These contacts are being established in addition to economic relations. I believe that they are the factors which will obstruct a war and change the impression that Turkey is a military threat.

[Ikiz] As the leader of the main opposition, you put up a very strong front against the communists for a whole year. However, you were a member of the Communist Party for a certain period of time. Why did you join the Communist Party, and how did you leave the party and communism later?

[Zhelev] There are various methods which help the people realize the truth. A number of people join the Communist Party because they believe in communism and are confident that the Communist Party will make many changes to establish a new system. On the other hand, many people join the Communist Party for their own personal interests. They do so to be able to have a good job or a good house or to be accredited to foreign countries or find an opportunity to provide good education for their children. I knew nothing about all this when I joined the Communist Party. I only wished to defend democracy within the party and to struggle against irregularities. Anyone outside the party was also uninvolved in the developments. Nonparty members had no influence. Apart from talking and sharing each other's feelings and thoughts, the nonparty members were not able to do anything.

I wished to wage a struggle within the party. When this was realized, I was evicted from the party ranks in the fourth year of my membership. Anyone who rebels within the party pays a heavy cost. [passage omitted]

[Ikiz] Do you believe that communism has outlived its existence?

[Zhelev] Communism is finished. As a system, it still exists in the DPRK and Cuba. The communist system has been removed from power in all other countries. In fact, it is gradually becoming extinct. Communism has taken a turn toward oblivion even in the Soviet Union. No one can stop this trend. The year 2000 will mark the beginning of an era without communism. Not a single communist country will remain in the world. [passage omitted]

[Ikiz] Are there forces that might obstruct the enhancement of democracy?

[Zhelev] Yes, the Bulgarian Socialist Party's majority in parliament is obstructing developments. Had the opposition been in the majority, many laws would have been enacted by now. In particular, the laws concerning the economic domain and amending the Constitution would have been passed. The socialists are only embarking on formal initiatives. The proposals for changes are being made by the opposition members. The socialists are the majority, but they lack confidence about the future. I believe that the enhancement of the democratic trend and the argument the socialists make about their past mistakes will lead to fragmentation within the socialist party. A number of their parliamentary group members may join the opposition ranks. There is the possibility that the Nomenklatura [as published] will be forced into isolation. They are greatly responsible for the mistakes committed by the party.

[Ikiz] You regard the Bulgarian Socialist Party as an obstacle against the strengthening of the democratic trend. Is the restoration of the former regime possible?

[Zhelev] The trend of the developments has been such that reinstating the former regime is impossible. The worst that can happen is a military coup prompted by the effects on Bulgarian politics of the crisis situations in various areas. A civil war could even break out. However, restoring the former regime is impossible. Those who could defend the former regime have no more strength left. Meanwhile, the opposition has gained significant political strength. The people have also changed. The Bulgarian people are not what they were—not even what they were in 1989. They want deeds, not words.

[Ikiz] If it becomes more serious, how would the ethnic problem in Yugoslavia affect the Balkan countries?

[Zhelev] The ethnic problem has become very important in the Balkans as well. However, this state of affairs is not unique to the Balkan countries. The problem exists in many parts of the world, including the developing capitalist countries. The matter is related to the effort made by individual communities to gain more freedom. Individual communities wish to have their ethnic character recognized. They want their ethnic character and roots to be accepted. [passage omitted]

The question of the Balkans is a more complex and tough problem. The problem of Yugoslavia is the toughest. Judging by the reports published in the newspapers in Yugoslvia and the views expressed in the Western countries, the federation is in the process of disintegration in many respects. The republics which make up Yugoslavia are about to become independent countries. It will probably be impossible to maintain the general structure of that country anymore. From the point of view of its history, this structure has outlived its existence.

Nevertheless, what will happen is now unknown. Time will show what will take place. We have nothing to gain from the collapse of Yugoslavia and from the deepening of differences among its republics. This will disrupt

stability in the Balkans. The disruption of stability in the Balkans will unavoidably affect Turkey, Bulgaria, and Romania.

Prime Minister Popov Favors Private Business

AU1612225290 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 12 Dec 90 p 2

[Katya Yaneva report]

[Text] Dimitur Popov, who has the task of forming a government, intends to help private business and assume much of the responsibility for its development. He is interested in our project for a banking network, stated Valentin Mollov, chairman of the Union for Citizen's Economic Initiative, at a briefing held on 11 December. The briefing marked the start of regular weekly meetings between journalists and the union's leadership.

Dimitur Popov was said to have stated the aforementioned view at a meeting with Mr. Mollov, at which Dimitur Popov asked for two of the union's experts to assist him in resolving economic problems. He feels that private business not only cannot develop, but risks being repressed under the present moratorium on privatization, Mr. Mollov stated. In Mr. Mollov's view, under present conditions people are compelled to take illegal actions and commit economic crimes, because there is no way for them to reinvest their profits.

The project for a banking network envisages that the first private bank will set up its own branches throughout the country. So far 27 branches have been established, and by the end of March 1991 their number should increase to 50.

In this manner, banking services will be improved and the rate of money circulation increased. According to European standards, a single bank branch may serve 1,500 to 3,000 customers, whereas in Bulgaria the figure is 30,000. [passage omitted]

BSP Membership Drops 75 Percent in 6 Months

AU1412185090 Sofia BTA in English 1818 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 14 Dec (BTA)—"Three out of each four members of the Socialist Party have left the party in the last six months. Now the party has about 260,000 members," Mr. Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the Supreme Council of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party], told the Bulgarian radio today.

According to Mr. Lilov, in June the former Communist Party had one million members, at the time of its 39th congress in September, 860,000 members, and now its members number about 250,000.

The BSP leaders had fixed November 30 as the deadline for membership reregistration, after the party changed its name from communist to socialist in April.

"We are no pedants, the term can be extended," said Mr. Lilov, and added that there will be exact data about the party's membership by the end of January 1991.

He mentioned that the present leadership is not anxious to preserve the numerousness of the party. "Many people leave because they disagree with the party's present platform," he explained.

The chairman of the Supreme Council of the BSP expressed his firm belief that in the future the Socialist Party will remain the most numerous one in Bulgaria.

New Opposition Leader Dimitrov on Elections

AU1512183690 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 12 Dec 90 p 1

[Interview with Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces, by Kalcho Ivanov; place and date not given: "We Are United by Our Striving for Full Democracy"; first paragraph is TRUD introduction]

[Text] The dramatic changes of fortune connected with Petur Beron's resignation aroused great interest in the meeting of the Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] held on 11 December, which was expected to elect Beron's successor. Judging from the voices (not to say shouts) which could be heard from a long way off, the meeting was a dramatic one. It was known in advance that there were six candidates: Aleksandur Yordanov, Petko Simeonov, Stefan Gaytandzhiev, Stoyan Ganev, and Filip Dimitrov. Dr. Petur Dertliev, who was "harnessed up" as a very strong candidate, withdrew his candidature beforehand. The forecasts that a candidate from the "center" would have the best chances seem to have been justified by the election of Filip Dimitrov as the chairman of the SDS Coordinating Council. The latter was kind enough to answer the following questions:

[Ivanov] Mr. Dimitrov, what is your attitude and what are your feelings toward your predecessor?

[Dimitrov] I have a high opinion of Dr. Petur Beron as a scientist and politician. I also respect him as a man with very positive qualities. The story surrounding him, which must by the way be cleared up, has not changed my attitude and opinion of him one bit.

[Ivanov] Two days ago, in a highly respected newspaper there appeared the following joke of the week: "Radio Yerevan was asked who would be the next SDS chairman." It replied: "The next in rank."

[Dimitrov] It is a good joke, I like it. It is good for us to retain our sense of humor even at the most difficult moments. However, the same joke, told with evil intentions, is quite another matter. If this is so, which I do not allow to be true, it simply does not deserve comment.

[Ivanov] May your election be considered as a compromise between the separate wings in the SDS?

[Dimitrov] I do not know which wings exactly you are thinking of, but with the existence of several candidates, a compromise is unavoidable. What is important is not the compromise itself, but the aims for which it is reached.

[Ivanov] What do you have to say about the composition of the new government?

[Dimitrov] I prefer not to answer that for the moment. Hasty statements on such a delicate issue can only cause harm.

[Ivanov] How do you view your duties as chairman of the SDS Coordinating Council?

[Dimitrov] Municipal and parliamentary elections lie ahead. Our union can and must win them, but for this to become possible, it is essential to improve communications at all levels. There is talk of a split in the ranks of the SDS. What is the truth?

Put in such a way, the question reveals an outmoded understanding of unity. Differences indeed exist between the different SDS formations, but there is one thing which unites them, and this is their striving for full democracy. In my view, this is the important thing.

[Ivanov] Do you hold views of your own concerning joint actions by the SDS and the Confederation of Independent Trade Union?

[Dimitrov] This issue is too complex to answer in a few words. However, in principle our union will try to find a common language with everyone who sincerely desires the further democratization of our society.

BSP Denies Starting MP's Personal Files Issue

AU1612225'90 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
12 Dec 90 pp 1, 2

[Dora Chichkova report]

[Excerpt] If the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] had organized the attack with the personal files, it would not have started with Beron, joked Professor Chavdar Kyuranov at the end of the regular BSP news conference held on 11 December in the club of the Sofia Press Agency.

At the insistence of those present, Filip Bokov also stated that the BSP Supreme Council and Presidium do not lie at the bottom of this affair. The issue of the personal files is connected with state security, for which the president is responsible under the Constitution, he said. If anyone, the president is the person who should conduct an investigation into who disseminated such documents and information and by what means.

Filip Bokov also recalled that Mr. Georgi Spasov and Mr. Petko Simeonov were among those who most zealously defended the idea of revealing the personal files of members of parliament. The switch in their position now is inexplicable. It is true that this will have serious political consequences, but the issue is a moral one, and society is entitled to know what kind of people are representing it in parliament, stressed Bokov. [passage omitted]

Podkrepa's Trenchev Fails To React to Charges

AU1612225490 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
12 Dec 90 p 1

[Ekaterina Popova report]

[Text] The president of the "Podkrepa" Labor Confederation will not publish the information about Petur Beron's past. He categorically states that he has no intention of entering into conflict with the law, because under Article 357 of the Penal Code the disclosure of such documents is a crime. As previously, Konstantin Trenchev refuses to name the "official institution" from which he obtained the information, and explains this as "normal loyalty."

Regarding the personal insults made against him by Beron, these have evidently not affected him very much, because Dr. Trenchev is not preparing to sue the former opposition leader in court. He also declined the invitation of the editor in chief of DUMA to take part in a direct discussion with Petur Beron in the DUMA editorial office, "in order to avoid the emotional aspect of the meeting." "However, I am ready to give written answers to all of Mr. Prodev's questions," the "Podkrepa" president said.

According to Dr. Trenchev, the issue of "Beron and the personal files in general" is exhausted for him and his colleagues. The confederation had its own system of priorities, the foremost among which are charity activities, the work on forming the new government, and the role of the trade unions in this transition period.

At the moment the trade union center is putting the emphasis on humanitarian activity. It expects in the very near future a shipment medicines from France valued at almost one million dollars. Similar talks are also in progress with Germany and with friendly trade unions abroad. On 26 December, Dr. Trenchev will leave for the United States, where he will try to secure additional medicines worth several million dollars.

DUMA on Harmful Effect of Disclosing Files

AU1712105490 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
10 Dec 90 p 5

[Petur Radevski article: "What Should Be Worse?"]

[Excerpts] According to Petur Beron, Konstantin Trenchev allegedly was an instrument of the Communists. Trenchev says that Petur Beron had been a longtime Communist agent. Whatever happens—the Communists are to be blamed.

The Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] propaganda is increasingly repeating the same phrase—that the people

from the higher echelons of power are more important than those who served them, namely the informers of the political police. Such people should not be members of parliament today, the SDS says. It could be clarified to what extent such personalities, representing the BSP in parliament really used the services of the secret police and to what extent they were targets of police attention themselves. Nevertheless, in trying to present things in this distorted light the choir of the "blue" propagandists is unconsciously singing off key. No one ever heard Petur Beron confessing during the election campaign: "I submitted information to counterintelligence (?) under the assumed name Bonchev." On the other hand, General Dobri Dzhurov who was the first nominee on the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] ticket in the Sofia Constituency won the votes of 300,000 Sofia citizens who knew him very well as a former, long-time Politburo member, minister of defense, and so forth. Everyone had the opportunity to assess the responsibility of such a figure who spent many years in the highest echelons of power. We could cite some other names of BSP members who were elected even on the basis of the majority system. The constituents voted being fully aware of their identity and their former positions. [passage omitted]

Mr. Trenchev already hinted in public that 54 of the BSP National Assembly deputies and only 17 SDS deputies had been informers of the State Security. Nevertheless, other unofficial versions were provided in the meantime according to which 74 SDS deputies and 38 BSP deputies are mentioned as informers. Exact figures are unimportant in this particular case. What matters is that the respective numbers of the two groups is the opposite of what Trenchev claims. It is quite possible that the figures announced by Mr. Trenchev are not an accidental "mistake," or a bluff, because as soon as the files are, hopefully, disclosed many people will contest the truth relying on Trenchev's statement.

Even without disposing of the necessary facts and data anyone can draw the evident conclusions from the situation. In the first place, we should point out that the security services in question needed the services of people from the informal groups and the first opposition movement, such as the "Independent Association for the Defense of Human Rights," the "Ecoglasnost," and "Podkrepa" organizations, the newly created University Club, and other such groups from the midst of which the SDS deputies emerged. In the second place, if we should accept the logic of some SDS propagandists who claim that the State Security served the BSP, we may ask what prevented this party from canceling the names of people likely to disgrace the party from the election lists? Last but not least, the reaction of the SDS circles and of their mass media on question of political police informers seems quite strange. It would be logical for the SDS to be the first to insist on disclosing the files, especially if the figures cited by Trenchev should be true. [passage omitted]

A menacing declaration issued by the Independent Trade Union of Employees from the National Service for the Defense of the Constitution and from the Administrative Structures of the Internal Affairs Ministry further contributed to the misgivings about disclosing files. The declaration contains expressions and opinions of the following kind: "This is an unprecedented phenomenon in the recent and past history of mankind;" "Only a country which is in a complete impasse can damage its own sovereignty;" "Would anyone offer his assistance in combating crime, if he faced the risk of being exposed one day and slandered, insulted, and abused, instead of being rewarded?" Such statements reveal the old thesis of the former Interior Minister General Semerdzhiev who said that no secret service in the world is ready to disclose the identity of its informers. In this case, however, no difference is made between informers of the political police and informers reporting on crime, espionage, and terrorism.

It is hardly difficult to imagine what consequences the preservation of the political police files might involve. Would this secret not become an instrument of blackmail and pressure in the hands of some people with inside knowledge concerning the mutual services of political figures regardless of the party they belong to? What would be worse for new Bulgaria?

Beron Denies Zhelev Demanded His Resignation

AU1512152790 Sofia BTA in English 1341 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 15 Dec (BTA)—In connection with the BTA information on President Zhelyu Zhelev's interview front-paged by all papers today, Dr. Petur Beron, formerly chairman of the Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces, called the BTA late last night and stated: "Dr. Zhelev has never examined my dossier in my presence and I have never seen it. The announcement that Dr. Zhelev demanded my resignation from the posts I held in the Union of Democratic Forces seems strange, to say the least, because appointing the leadership of political organizations is not within the competence and is not part of the obligations of the president."

In this connection Mr. Ivaylo Trifonov, head of the office of the president, went on radio today to explain that the misunderstanding was due to an inaccurate interpretation of what the president had said. He specified that President Zhelev examined Dr. Beron's dossier in the presence of the minister of the interior who had presented the dossier to the president at the request of the latter.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian on 15 December at 1000 GMT carries as the first item in its midday newscast a repeat recording of the section of yesterday's interview with President Zhelev in which Zhelev said after studying Beron's file he had invited the latter to resign. This item is followed by a repeat recording of the statement by presidential spokesman Ivaylo Trifonov on the affair]

Radio Journalists Demand Vladkov's Resignation

AU1612173990 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 13 Dec 90 p 2

[Mitko Bozhkov report: "Radio Journalists Demand Aleksandur Vladkov Resignation and Threaten Strike]

[Excerpt] If a new chairman of the Bulgarian Radio is not elected in the near future we shall strike. This was stated on 12 December by the members of the "Free Air" Club and the "Podkrepa" Radio Association, at a meeting with the Grand National Assembly Commission on Radio and Television.

Oleg Chulev, "Podkrepa" vice president, said that the confederation is satisfied with the work of the radio, especially during the recent strike. He did not even hesitate to threaten subsequent action if the new radio chief is "dropped from above." Without any hesitation Mr. Chulev supported the candidacies, which were announced a short while before the meeting.

Petur Staykov, Ivo Indzhev, and Petko Bocharov—are three candidates for the post chairman of the Committee on Radio, Chavdar Kiselinchev, KHORIZONT Program journalist, said. He also pointed out that at present this post cannot be occupied by a person from the radio itself, despite the fact that many capable journalists work in radio. He also explained why the immediate resignation of Mr. Aleksandur Vladkov, chairman of the Committee on Radio, was necessary. Mr. Kiselinchev described Mr. Vladkov as a "person of yesterday and even of the more distant past." [passage omitted]

Foreign Minister Welcomes UN Appeal on Aid

AU1412123390 Sofia BTA in English 2138 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 13 Dec (BTA)—Mr. Lyuben Gotsev, minister of foreign affairs, has sent a letter to the chairman of the United Nations Security Council and to the chairman of the Security Council committee set up in compliance with Resolution No. 661 on the conflict between Iraq and Kuwait expressing gratitude on behalf of the Government of Bulgaria for the world organization's appeal to give aid to Bulgaria.

The Bulgarian Government looks upon the decision of the Security Council as recognition for the country's position on the Gulf Crisis, which is a position of principle and not dictated by a short term policy. The Bulgarian people is deeply grateful to the international public for its clearly stated support at a difficult moment. We believe that the international solidarity is yet another manifestation of the universal human ideals laid down in the Statute of the United Nations which proves that the organization has a huge potential at this new stage of its development, it is pointed out in the letter.

In conclusion Bulgaria confirms her firm resolution to unflinchingly support the efforts of the world organization aimed at a just settlement of the crisis in the Persian Gulf on the basis of the Security Council resolutions.

Greek Envoy Promises Economic, Humanitarian Aid

AU1412191990 Sofia BTA in English 1824 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 14 Dec (BTA)—The minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Lyuben Gotsev, received Mr. Yeoryios Khristoyiannis, ambassador of Greece to Sofia. The ambassador stressed the sincere desire of his country to help Bulgaria overcome the difficulties it is now experiencing. The Greek Government and Prime Minister Mr. Konstandinos Mitsotakis in person are seeking opportunities for rendering timely economic and humanitarian aid to Bulgaria, both on the part of the EC and of Greece herself.

Ambassador Khristoyiannis said that in spite of the difficulties Greece is now experiencing herself the government is ready to grant a credit of 50 million U.S. dollars to Bulgaria through the Commercial Bank of Greece.

Soviet People's Friendship Federation Formed

AU1512185290 Sofia BTA in English 1722 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 15 Dec (BTA)—The Seventh National Conference of the Bulgaro-Soviet Friendship Movement which was opened here today grew into a constituent congress at which the Federation for Friendship with the Peoples of the USSR was founded.

In the opening speech delivered by Nacho Papazov, chairman of the National Bulgaro-Soviet Friendship Committee, and in most of the speeches made by the participants in the conference great concern was expressed over the decline of the movement and the spreading of Russophobe feelings in Bulgaria. It is dangerous to let the negation of Stalinism, dogmatism and totalitarianism affect Bulgaria's traditional spiritual, cultural and economic relations with the Soviet peoples, Mr. Papazov stated.

He pointed out that the movement should purge itself from the negative traces of the past, it should be depoliticized categorically and should abandon the stereotype which had deformed young people's attitude towards the values of Bulgaro-Soviet friendship.

The results of a sociological enquiry held to find out if the Bulgarians' attitude towards the Soviet Union has changed in the last year were announced at the forum. The attitude of 45 percent of the respondents has remain unchanged; there is a certain change in the attitude of 32 percent of the respondents; the attitude of 24 percent has been completely changed.

The Federation for Friendship with the Peoples of the USSR will be an independent voluntary public organization based on democratic principles.

Regular Diplomatic Talks Conducted With Canada

AU1412122990 Sofia BTA in English 2202 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 13 Dec (BTA)—Today the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria and Canada held their regular consultations.

The Bulgarian delegation was headed by Mr. Stefan Staykov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs, and the Canadian by Mr. Rodney Urwing, director general of the Department for the USSR and Eastern Europe.

The delegations discussed the two countries' relations and the possibility of their being expanded and promoted. Their readiness to extend the contractual basis in view of the creation of favourable conditions for the expansion of bilateral cooperation was confirmed.

Views on the most important problems of international affairs were exchanged and special attention was paid to the CSCE process, the development of cooperation in the Balkans, the gulf crisis and its settlement.

The Canadian side expressed its readiness to give aid to Bulgaria, as far as possible, through different international organizations and institutions and on a bilateral plane.

Havel No Longer Acceptable to Slovaks as 'Arbiter'

AU1512180690 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 12 Dec 90 p 3

[Igor Cibula commentary: "Insurance for Any Contingency; The President's Proposals for Strengthening the Federation"]

[Text] With his initiative in the federal parliament, President Vaclav Havel forfeited the potential role of an arbiter in the so-called power-sharing dispute between the Slovak state representation on the one hand and federal bodies or representatives of the Czech Republic on the other. The decision to tackle the crisis by going on the offensive to a certain extent calls into question his position because in a situation requiring political consensus he did not act as an impartial official. Even some of his preceding statements indirectly indicated that he is not convinced about the sincerity of some efforts at achieving Slovakia's emancipation within the federation.

The president's proposals for enacting a constitutional court and introducing the institution of a referendum can be regarded as positive steps towards democracy. In the present situation, however, these proposals look like a transparent maneuver intended to put off the approval of the power-sharing bill. At the same time they represent some sort of an insurance for the contingency of the constitutional representatives of the Slovak Republic not proceeding in harmony with the federal interest, which at present is tantamount to the interest of the Czech political representation at all levels. In this context it is interesting to note that, to support his standpoint in parliament, the president cited the results of public opinion surveys as though they almost had the power of a legal argument.

The negative response to the proposed extension of presidential powers bears out that Vaclav Havel's advisers misjudged the real level of political moods of society. Regarding Slovakia, in particular, it should be pointed out that the federation will be strengthened not by a stronger president but by a stronger will of both nations to tolerate the identity of the other. Czech-Slovak coexistence cannot, in the long run, be regulated by constitutional provisions of a power nature, which has been demonstrated sufficiently in the course of history.

Most objections to the content of the president's speech in the Federal Assembly concern the fact that he did not mention at all the draft law on the division of powers, because of which the critical situation in parliament had arisen in the first place. No matter what the motives for this omission were, the fact alone suggests a great deal about to whom the Castle is favorably inclined in the dispute about this bill. As the president mentioned the Slovak prime minister's pressure on the federal parliament, the president's own course of action, too, could be assessed in this context—especially his reference to the defense law in connection with the protection of adherence to the constitution, even though he hypothetically ruled out this alternative. He did so, perhaps, bearing in mind the not-all-too-encouraging experience of the Soviet president, whom even military intervention in the union republics does not help to keep his federation together.

Czech Statement on Talks With Slovak Delegation

AU1512182990 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 12 Dec 90 p 3

[Statement issued by the Czech Government Press Office: "Let the Facts Speak for Themselves"]

[Text] On 6 December 1990 a Slovak Government delegation comprising of Prime Minister V. Meciar (Public Against Violence [VPN] movement), Deputy Prime Minister V. Ondrus (VPN), Deputy Prime Minister J. Carnogursky (Christian Democratic Movement [KDH]), Deputy Prime Minister J. Kucerak (VPN), Finance Minister M. Kovac (KDH), Industry Minister J. Holcik (Democratic Party), and Interior Minister L. Pittner arrived in Prague.

The meeting took place on our initiative. The counterparts of the Slovak Government members participated in the meeting on behalf of the Czech Government, that is, Prime Minister P. Pithart (Civic Forum [OF]), Deputy Prime Minister F. Vlasak (OF), Deputy Prime Minister A. Baudys (Czechoslovak People's Party), Finance Minister K. Spacek, Industry Minister J. Vrba, State Control Minister B. Tichy (Movement for Self-Governing Democracy—Society for Moravia and Silesia), and M. Gregr, minister of engineering and the electrotechnical industry.

The discussions were informal (that is, minutes were not taken) and no agreement was reached. The recording equipment was switched off at the request of the Slovak side.

During the talks, Slovak Prime Minister Meciar—in the presence of the Slovak delegation—informed us that on Saturday [8 December] a coalition agreement would be concluded on the Slovak political representatives' further course of action in case the Federal Assembly does not adopt the constitutional law on jurisdiction in the version approved by the Slovak National Council [SNR] (that is, without changes—the changes which the Czech National Council [CNR] added to the three governments' draft are also unacceptable). In this case, next Tuesday [11 December] the SNR will adopt a resolution (there was no mention of its form) which will declare the sovereignty of SNR laws over Federal Assembly laws. As proof that this was not just a noncommittal consideration we were presented with a copy of the Democratic Party's daily "CAS" [Time] in which this intention was literally set out in a statement made by the Democratic Party leadership.

V. Meciar then left to visit the president. The Slovak delegation also met with Mr. Dubcek. Shortly afterwards

P. Pithart briefed the president on the outcome of the talks and part of the Czech Government delegation briefed A. Dubcek.

The participants in the talks on behalf of the Czech side confirm the veracity of this statement by their signatures:

[Signed] Dr. Petr Pithart
Dr. Frantisek Vlasak
Associate Professor Engineer Antonin Baudys
Engineer Jan Vrba
Engineer Bohumil Tichy
Engineer Miroslav Gregr
Dr. Tomas Sokol

Dubcek Stresses Czech-Slovak 'Common Heritage'

LD1512100790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Excerpts] In honor of the 120th anniversary of the birth of an important Austrian politician and statesman, President of the Second Austrian Republic Dr. Karl Renner, a plaque has been unveiled at his birthplace at Dolni Dunajovice in the Breclar area. [passage omitted]

The plaque was unveiled by Alexander Dubcek. Reporter Jaroslav Rektor asked him for an interview: [passage omitted]

[Begin Dubcek recording] I am happy that the power-sharing law has been approved. It can be seen on this occasion, in this village, that the marginal matters that we have witnessed, whether chauvinistic, extremely separatist, or nationalist, are not the voices determining what should be giving a direction to our development. It is not in harmony with the determining view of the Czech and the Slovak nation. [passage indistinct].

I think that we sometimes see too much importance in these marginal forces. They cannot destroy the link created in the past between the Czech and the Slovak nations, our common heritage on which we want to build in the future, too. I think that what is happening in the parliament in our country now shows that the parliament is making decisions in harmony with the will of the majority of the Czech and the Slovak nation. It could not be otherwise.

Let us adhere to the link that existed between our nations in the past, which links them today and which will obviously link them in the future, too. This is the prospect for our nations. These marginal voices have been here, and it looks as if they will be here in the future, too—but we will build on what links us and not on what some want as a dividing factor in the coexistence of our nations. I think that such trends have no chance whatsoever. [end recording]

Meciar Speaks on Slovakia Deciding Its Affairs

LD1612212690 Bratislava Television Service in Slovak 1820 GMT 16 Dec 90

["Ten Minutes With the Prime Minister" program; address by Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar on 16 December—recorded]

[Text] Good evening, esteemed fellow citizens! When I was leaving my house this morning, it was snowing and nearby a thaw set in. When I look around, nature has two colors—white and black. These are the typical colors of a winter season when frost and thaw alternate. The last two weeks were also frosty in our political life. Therefore, it is no wonder that we perceived many things in just two colors—in black and white, though life has no doubt more colors.

It was namely this certain onesidedness and sharp differentiation which led to the situation in which we had to take various stances speedily and under pressure, but always in the interest of achieving our target.

It is possible to say that the result of the last few weeks is due to the change in the political climate in the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic, and a fundamental change in the position of Slovakia. While in 1968, the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic was shaped in federal formations, in 1990 we are bestowing purpose, content, and specific significance on these formations. This is the principal result of our work in the last period.

If we have achieved the result which we are no doubt happy about—as the Slovak bodies achieved, in essence, the possibility as well as obligation and responsibility to decide about all the fundamental questions concerning the citizens and their life on our territory—it is no doubt an enormous success and an expression of everyone's wishes.

It was a complex struggle, and one in which sometimes something that should not happen did happen—small bruises and the like, but this always accompanies a struggle.

There is a need to remember all the principal participants and those who contributed to this successful result. These are above all of you, my esteemed fellow citizens. We have felt your support for the entire period, however complicated it was; we literally felt you breathing down our necks. In such a situation it is easy to work, it is possible to work well and feel assured. Your stances in the last few weeks convinced me that strength of policy does not depend on what political means a politician has at his disposal or whether he has a possibility to command the army, police, or state apparatus, as the success of the policy depends on how truthful the policy is, and how you accept and support it. In the case in question we were aware of its truth and your support.

In the given case, many political parties and movements have taken part in preparing a program—these included above all Public Against Violence [VPN], which not only

by the program aims, but also by the selection of people guaranteed the fulfillment of this program, and also coalition parties; the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH], and the Democratic Party. When we arrived at parliament, it emerged that where all-Slovak interest was at stake, then representatives of other political parties, such as communists and others, united on the basis of protecting a joint interest. They managed to overcome and suppress any narrow party attitudes.

Naturally, all the events have had their active representatives, those who have been working at the government level, and those you know. But it is also necessary to mention those who have been working at levels of political parties and movements; above all these were: Fedor Gal, (?Zajac, Slamik) and also representatives of the KDH in the Federal Assembly. I have to say that we have found a certain amount of understanding from those who we have viewed partly as partners and partly as opponents—that is, some politicians and functionaries in the Czech Republic. In the end we have achieved a result, but I would present it as follows: The success is ours, but the result is the work of common sense.

I believe that after a certain time in the Czech Republic too, those who are angry today or consider the result to be a concession or a defeat will assess the situation differently and will say that the Slovaks' contribution dwelled above all in the fact that they forced both the Czech Republic and the federation to a more democratic, more humane, and true arrangement. There are no power means which could be effective when people and the nation do not want something. If they wish to live in a common state—and this is what you, esteemed fellow-citizens, have expressed—then this is the basis which holds the common state together, even when it finds itself in a crisis situation.

Naturally, after the power-sharing bill, development and life did not stop, although a number of deputes did say that this was the point of no return, and that they would not return to these matters. Life will not stop and we shall return to them, not only to the power-sharing bill, but also to the resolution of other social relations, above all in connection with the adoption of constitutions. We wish very much for the process of adopting the constitutions to be less dramatic. We shall be able to work, having learned from experiences from the present period. I hope that we achieve undramatic conclusion.

The relations in question shift Slovak-Czech relations to a new position. From the viewpoint of state bodies, we have achieved equality and we work on the principle of being equal partners. From the viewpoint of economic interests, we speak about working with what we have produced, distributing it among ourselves, and consuming it. It is based on justice. We do not want to hear anymore about pressure. Both the Czechs and Slovaks have jointly paid dearly for many things during the past 40 years, and in history they have suffered many times for not being united.

An entire sphere of relations has been shifted to a new position. For instance: Will joint Czechoslovak enterprises disappear? No, on the contrary, we are in favor of their existence, and in favor of new ones being founded. Nevertheless, they are going to be founded in such a way that directors will meet, discuss what is more advantageous, discuss the location of an enterprise, and economic relations. This means that the command-administrative decision making system will disappear, and it will be a matter of a normal economic life.

We want cooperation, we want competition. We will divide only such things which contradict monopoly regulations.

Trade relations assume a new quality. We are going to continue business with each other within Czechoslovakia as well as abroad. Nevertheless, after the new year, Slovak enterprises—to be more precise, enterprises in Slovakia—will carry out trade activity independently, or will set up new trade organizations, or if it is advantageous they will continue to export via foreign trade companies in the Czech Republic. The right to choose their partner and their possibilities are being widened for them.

Understandably there will be existing relations in the sphere of financial cooperation.

We do not want any redistribution—Slovakia does not need it. Nevertheless, we assume that if one side has a surplus of resources, it can offer a loan to the other side, it can become a co-investor, or it can become an investor of actions undertaken on the territory of the other state, and we assume this to apply equally for Bohemia and Slovakia.

We do not think there are going to be any more problems. We are going to have a single currency, and this means that the issue discussed by many, of what will be the exchange rate between Slovak and Czech crowns,—is that a one-to-one exchange rate will be preserved in the time to come. Our currency will preserve its value in relation to the other currencies only if it is backed by hard, very hard work.

Nevertheless, both Czech and Slovak culture will exist, as will the culture of minorities, and we are not going to mix them and create some kind of hybrid. One as well as the other nation will exist, despite the fact that many do not like the term nation, and they substitute it by the term citizen. We can agree as far as the constitutional relation is concerned. Nevertheless, as far as the relation of political entities is concerned, it is not possible to remove a person from his ethnic group, saying he does not belong there. This means we will preserve our own identity in this sphere, but we will share many things. In the spheres of social policy, health care, and education, we will look for solution to our affairs independently, and in the foreign sphere something will be common and something will be exclusively in our power—but this will be determined by life.

Esteemed fellow citizens, if I wish to thank you for something, then it is for a marvellous feeling of belonging together, for having felt that I am one with you, and you are one with me.

Thank you.

Havel Discusses Portugal Trip, Emergency Powers

LD1612183190

[Editorial Report] Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 1315 GMT on 16 December carries its scheduled "Conservations at Lany" program, a 28-minute recorded interview with CSFR President Vaclav Havel by reporter Jiri Vejvoda, at Lany on 15 December.

Vejvoda opens the interview by asking Havel about his visit to Spain and Portugal last week. Havel admits that during his talks there he realized there are more analogies between developments in Czechoslovakia and in those two countries in the post-totalitarian period than he first thought.

He recalls Prime Minister Gonzalez' remark about his depression in the face of all the problems of launching democratic development in Spain, and how everything was gradually resolved with steady effort. Havel says that Czechoslovakia's economic situation is worse than in Spain after the overthrow of Franco. Spain had to tackle its problems at a time when European politicians linked change with destabilization. Today, change is taking place in Czechoslovakia and throughout Europe. Therefore, the willingness to integrate Czechoslovakia into all-European institutions is greater.

Havel stresses that state visits are important because they spur action. Havel notes that Prime Minister Gonzalez promised to ask the European Community at the Rome meeting to help Czechoslovakia financially with a stopgap loan. Portugal's President Soares made a similar promise.

Asked how he felt as he stood at Europe's most Western point, Havel says he realized then that Europe is really one continent, despite all its variety, because it is bound by the European spirit.

Vejvoda says reaction in Spain and Portugal to Havel's Federal Assembly address was good. Havel confirms that all the officials he met there seemed to be pleased that the power-sharing bill was adopted.

Havel describes the adoption of the power-sharing law, his proposals on constitutional court legislation, referendums and increased presidential powers as important issues.

Vejvoda lsays, "I wanted to ask, though I do not doubt it, if you followed carefully during your stay in Spain and Portugal political events in our country—and what do you think about the adoption of the power-sharing law? This is the first question. My second question returns to your 10 December parliament address when you proposed three specific things: setting up a constitutional court, the possibility of a referendum, and some widening of certain presidential powers. What has been the reaction?"

Havel responds: "Of course I read the news from home whenever I had a free minute, I was also briefed by phone, and all of us, our entire delegation, were very happy and relieved when the power-sharing law was adopted. It seems it ended a certain, rather dramatic, phase. Still, this does not mean that starting now we are going to have totally smooth sailing—a crisis situation can re-emerge, and probably will re-emerge, because what our country is going through is a complicated and lengthy process.

"That is exactly why I think that we need various, though provisional, constitutional safety measures to help us to face such a potential crisis. This was the purpose of my address. Of course, I was saddened by the fact that some Slovak politicians, or Slovak political forces, saw my speech as something a bit anti-Slovak. This is a misunderstanding. I did not have anything anti-Slovak in mind. I only thought about one thing—how our federation functions, its future, its integrity. After all, this is in the interest of both nations, the Czechs as well as the Slovaks."

Vejvoda asks Havel if he thinks that his proposals will be adopted in the foreseeable future in the form in which he put them forward.

Havel answers: "If and when these proposals are approved by the Federal Assembly depends on the Federal Assembly, not on me. If something in my proposals is not approved, or approved in another form, I will not be offended—this is not a matter of personal prestige. I fulfill my duty when I put forward these bills."

Havel continues: "My personal view is that they are going to be adopted sooner or later, because the constitutional court has been enshrined in our constitution for 22 years. Everybody knows it is necessary. It is necessary now more than ever because in this situation we know how bad and imperfect the old constitution was, how many holes it has. When we formulate the new constitution, when the republics acquire much stronger powers, a situation may emerge in which some kind of a supreme body will have to decide whether this or that law is constitutional, to prevent the existence of laws that contradict each other.

"Similarly, I think that the idea of a referendum should not provoke big conflicts. Of course, there will be many discussions about who has the right to declare a referendum, in what circumstances, and on what issues. That is clear. All the same, I think everybody knows that a referendum is a tested democratic device which has proven itself in various democratic countries. On fact, it increases the influence of citizens on fundamental questions in their country. I do not know why such a thing should not be introduced in our legal code. I read that

somebody doubted if a federation-wide referendum should exist, if this should not be exclusively the matter for the republics. I think that a possibility of a federation-wide referendum should exist, but at the same time it is a matter for the republics if they also adopt such a law, and in which form they adopt it, and that they potentialy let the citizens decide about."

Vejvoda says, "You spoke, if I remember, about increasing presidential powers in some narrowly defined areas. What are these areas?"

Havel answers, "As far as increasing presidential powers is concerned, I realize more and more that there is no magic wand in state administration which could play an integrating role and, in extreme crisis, resolve, these situations. This issue is linked with the constitutional court and referendum issues. These three proposals seek the same thing: to create a system of safety measures to resolving crisis situations. They will be discussed by the parliament. I do not know what the final result will be. Perhaps it will be a bit dramatic and full of conflict, since parliaments do not like increasing the executive's power because they legitimately fear too much power being concentrated in the hands of one person. It is, in fact, their duty as representative bodies to prevent something like this happening. Still, I feel it my duty to propose this. I want to present them very soon so enough time is available to think about and discuss it.

"First, this concerns circumstances when the way in which the state functions is in some way threatened. Let us imagine serious social unrest, natural disasters, international incidents, whatever else happening. Then, the need to secure basic food supplies, telecommunications, etc., will arise. For a while, the Army could secure, within precisely outlined regulations, these fundamental state functions to prevent collapse. I hope the situation which would require authorizing a president to use the Army's security units never happens. Still, we have to think about every possibility. We have to consider such a possibility, at least for this transitional and complicated period."

"Second, this concerns the relationship of a president to the representative bodies. Although the current constitution permits even the extreme possibility that if arbitration talks between the two chambers of parliament fail, if agreement is not reached, the president has an option to dissolve the Federal Assembly. Still, it is not clear which type of arbitration talks this concerns. Various interpretations are possible. Above all, it is not clear. This is most important if such a case occurs. What is clear is that new elections should take place. Still legislative activity could not be halted for that period, especially not at present when we have to adopt so many new laws.

"In my view, some temporary increase of presidential powers could contribute toward clarifying it, and could also secure functions, even in crisis situations requiring the dissolution of parliament. I do not think that such a situation will happen, I firmly believe it will not happen.

"Still, because of various speculations, predictions, unease and fears before the adoption of the power-sharing law, I realized again how important it is to have these safety measures to respond to improbable but still possible, though admittedly extreme, situation.

"Perhaps I should add one more thing. In creating such safety measures we would return to some principles of our 1920 constitution. This was already included there. The current constitution, in fact, reflects Stalinist ideas, because it includes the presumption of a leading role of the party, which would anyway tackle everything in any situation. They knew the possibility of dissolving parliament had to be included to make it look like a constitution. Still they presumed the existence of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, or whatever it was called in various countries, as some kind of a collective head of a state. In fact, it would be instrument manipulated by the Politburo. This is perhaps not obvious when we read it for the first time, but once democratic mechanisms begin to work according to this old constitution, then the hard-coded requirements which this type of constitution contains are revealed."

Vejvoda mentions Durrenmatt's death and Havel points out that Durrenmatt was always interested in the paradox of power, the responsibility of an intellectual, and that as a president he is well aware himself of this paradox.

A recording of sea waves is played and Havel remarks that whenever he watches the sea he is very curious what is under it, both horizontally and above—what is the secret of the world and our existence. The interview concludes.

Rychetsky Specifies Havel's Possible New Powers

AU1312122290 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 12 Dec 90 p 4

[CTK roundup: "Foreign Press on Developments in Czechoslovakia"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Writing about conjectures about what Vaclav Havel intends to do [in connection with his announcement to the Federal Assembly on 10 December that he will request the parliament to "broaden his powers"] the London THE GUARDIAN writes, with reference to Deputy Prime Minister Pavel Rychetsky, that this could involve the right to veto proposed legislation, the right to declare a state of emergency, as well as the right to disband the parliament and establish presidential rule. [passage omitted]

Communist Party on Name Change, Domestic Issues

LD1412230590 Prague CTK in English 1949 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 14 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Communist Party is considering a change of name, said

former party leader and current communist representative to the Federal Assembly Vasil Mohorita at the party's regular press briefing today.

Today's communist programme is different from the original idea expressed in the party's name, said Mohorita, and the party is now considering a referendum to choose a new name. But everything depends on how the expropriation of its property progresses as the party may soon find itself in debt, said Mohorita, a member of the party's Federal Council.

Asked for the party's opinion on President Vaclav Havel's proposal on Monday to extend the powers of the president, Deputy Josef Mecl said that Czechoslovakia should remain a parliamentary republic as set out in its first constitution in 1918 and that the party is not certain whether differences in political opinion can be resolved by authoritative measures.

The Communist Party supports Havel's proposal to create a constitutional court and is submitting an alternative proposal to the same effect. It also supports the president's initiative to establish the referendum as a legal institution.

As for the economic reforms in Czechoslovakia, the communists recommend a more guarded attitude toward their introduction and a more thorough debate of the reform laws themselves. They will be submitting their own economic transformation bill, in the form of a constitutional law, which will rely more on public forms of privatisation such as auctions and the sale of enterprises to employees.

Iraqi President Saddam Husayn did not receive the Czechoslovak good-will mission as he did all the other countries' missions because of statements made by Czechoslovak politicians, according to deputy chairperson of the Communist Party Federal Council and parliamentary Deputy Miroslav Grebenicek.

Ministers, OF Members Endorse 'Liberal Group'

LD1416301290 Prague CTK in English 2257 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 13 (CTK)—Eight of the ten Federal Government officials representing the Civic Forum (OF), seven ministers from the Czech Government, and 90 deputies from the federal and Czech parliaments have endorsed a declaration establishing a "Liberal Group" within OF, the leading political movement in Czechoslovakia.

This is not a split in the OF, said Czech National Council Chairperson Dagmar Buresova. "The Liberal Group is open to everyone who wants to be politically involved, all are welcome".

The Liberal Group's founding statement agrees unambiguously with radical economic reform, but disagrees with the idea that a market economy is the goal, stating "(a market economy) is merely the primary means to achieving prosperity and a life of dignity in a healthy and clean environment. On the way to this goal, a humane society is obligated to mitigate the effects from the inevitable shocks and to develop health services, culture and education, including requalification, for its socially weaker groups."

The declaration adds that Czechoslovakia's return to Europe means "not only our entrance into the European Community... but also a return to the foundations of European culture and ethics, a moral and spiritual rebirth of society."

In the future this policy should become a political force nationwide, incorporating all nations and all national minorities, concludes the declaration.

Among the eight members of Federal Government who joined the group are Deputy Prime Ministers Pavel Rychetsky and Vaclav Vales, and Foreign and Defence Ministers Jiri Dienstbier and Lubos Dubrovsky. Some 90 deputies from the Czech National Council and the federal parliament also signed the declaration. Representatives of the OF hold 286 out of a total 500 seats in the Czech National Council and Federal Assembly combined.

The chairperson of the OF, Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus, and Economics Minister Vladimir Dlouhy are not among the signatories.

Another association, the Interparliamentary Group of the Democratic Right-Wing, was founded by OF deputies two months ago. Its members are welcome to join the Liberal Group as well, said Pavel Rychetsky in an interview on Czechoslovak Television this evening.

Klaus Cites Need for Unity

LD1412200290 Prague CTK in English 1755 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 14 (CTK)—Civic Forum (OF) Chairman Vaclav Klaus told a press conference today that he considers the liberal group set up by some 90 federal and Czech parliament OF deputies as a counterweight to the group of the Democratic Right Wing established over two months ago.

Asked if the founding of the new group could split this largest political movement in Czechoslovakia into two parties Klaus said that the OF needs unity at present. In his opinion a split is not inevitable. In any case, he thinks it would not be good if two distinctly different streams were formed within the movement which won a landslide victory in last June's parliamentary elections in Czechoslovakia.

Finance Minister Klaus and Economics Minister Vladimir Dlouhy are the only two of the ten OF ministers in the Federal Government not to sign a declaration of the new liberal group which was published yesterday. Since the beginning they have been associated with the democratic group of the right wing which has been described as a centre and right-of-centre formation.

After its founding, Klaus was elected chairman of the movement at its congress in October and soon made it clear he would like to turn the movement, so far an umbrella body for a wide spectrum of opinion from left to right, into a political party with a clearly defined program and opinion.

"We are experiencing a period of polarization of opinion quite typical in the post-communist countries' block," he told a working meeting in Olomouc last weekend.

The new liberal group, whose statement has been endorsed by all the OF Federal Government members except Klaus and Dlouhy, in addition to 90 federal and Czech parliament deputies, said that it would seek to be a guarantee of "cooperation of all sections in the forum."

Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier said in an interview at the meeting in Olomouc that he considered "any play" with the OF, "actually the only integrating element in the Czech and Moravian regions... very dangerous." Dienstbier is a signatory of the liberal group's declaration. He believes that the OF won the elections also because "it was not a party based on vertical subordination and that all within it, whether Left or Right, were able to agree on one program."

The movement, founded by human rights activists, including President Vaclav Havel, and other groups in the first days of the "velvet" revolution in November 1989, is now planning its congress for January which will apparently be crucial for its further development.

"If it adopts a program based on the approved right-wing theses (in Olomouc), we ourselves will decide that we have nothing to do in the OF and will leave. We do not need to be expelled," Petr Uhl, chairman of the Left Alternative which ran on the OF list in the elections, told the left-wing paper "RUDE PRAVO" today. If the OF, however, remains a platform allowing a broad range of views as before, economic as well as political, we will not need to leave, Uhl said. He believes that Klaus's assumption that the OF as a party could have several hundred thousand members is exaggerated.

Jan Sokol, chairman of the OF group in the Federal Assembly, said at today's press conference that he considers the founding of the liberal group as the expression of a stand and he would like to see the OF to exist as one movement at least until the next elections which should be held in June 1992 at the latest.

Former Interior Minister Arrested for Power Abuse

LD1412181590 Prague CTK in English 1346 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 14 (CTK)—Former Czechoslovak interior minister under the communist regime Frantisek Kincl was taken into custody yesterday after being interrogated at the military prosecution in Pribram, Central Bohemia, CTK was told by a prosecution's spokesman today.

Criminal proceedings against Kincl started recently on charges of abusing powers of a public official and of restricting personal freedom.

Slovak Confidence in Federal Bodies Drops

AU1312152290 Prague CTK in English 2207 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Bratislava Dec 11 (CTK)—Fifty-three percent of Slovaks favour a federal set-up of Czechoslovakia, 26 a confederation and five percent an independent state.

These are the results of the latest poll conducted by Slovak Television on December 5.

There were altogether four surveys conducted by Slovak Television among 365 to 488 Slovak respondents from July 20 to December 5. In this period confidence of the Slovak public in Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel dropped to a half from 74.4 to 43.3 percent and nonconfidence in him rose from 17.8 to 43.3 percent.

Confidence in the Federal Government declined from 69.7 to 28.6 percent. Nonconfidence in it was expressed by 49.2 percent of the respondents in the latest poll. As to the Federal Assembly (parliament), confidence dropped from 72.2 to 31 percent. 45.9 percent of the respondents expressed nonconfidence in it at the start of December.

In the same period confidence in the Slovak Government was stable at about 70 percent. By December 5 it rose to 74.4 percent. Confidence in the Slovak National Council (parliament) declined from 59.2 to 45.2 percent. The Slovak people believe most their Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar 80.3 percent. He is followed by Federal Parliament Chairman Alexander Dubcek with 27.7 percent, Prime Minister Marian Calfa 16.5 percent and Slovak Democratic Left-Wing Party Chairman Peter Weiss with 15 percent.

Defense Council Views State, Economic Safety

LD1312222190 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] The Slovak Defense Council today discussed the fulfillment of tasks to safeguard the defense of the state and the protection of the national economy and citizens in exceptional circumstances. In connection with the promulgated laws of the Slovak National Council on general administration and the organization of local state administration, it also approved some changes in the system of defense councils.

Parliament Deputy Believes Mission to Iraq Helped

AU1312163490 Prague CTK in English 1142 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 11 (CTK)—Michael Kocab, a deputy to the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament) and member of a goodwill mission to Iraq, told CTK here

today that in his opinion the mission contributed considerably to the return of Czechoslovak citizens detained in Iraq.

Kocab, who returned together with other members of the mission and 38 Czechoslovak citizens last night, said that talks were very dramatic till the last moment and the fact that 15 more citizens could come back was quite clearly the result of the mission's activities. He said that envoys from other countries arrived in Baghdad as well but their efforts have failed. "We were the first mission to take home nearly all citizens," Kocab said.

Pavel Gregor, a CKD Enterprise worker and one of the hostages, said that a number of them were given passports only Monday morning while they handed in their applications for returning home as early as August 11.

Army General Vacek, former defense minister, who headed the mission, appreciated the responsibility of Czechoslovak workers in Iraq who saw to it that Czechoslovakia would not lose contracts worth millions of korunas.

One of the most important figures among the mission's members was Frantisek Langer, former state and foreign trade official, who established valuable contacts in Iraq which contributed considerably to the release of Czechoslovak citizens.

Asked why the Czechoslovak delegation was not received by Saddam Husayn, Langer said that this could have been a response to Czechoslovakia's decision to dispatch an antichemical warfare unit to Saudi Arabia or to the abolition of Iraqi students' instruction at Czechoslovak universities. The fact that the Iraqi leadership is very busy must be also taken into consideration, Langer said.

Israeli Embassy in Prague Inaugurated 13 Dec

AU1412203590 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 13 Dec 90 p 2

["(NO, bap)"-signed report: "Israeli Embassy Opened"]

[Excerpt] Yoel Sher, newly appointed ambassador of the State of Israel to the CSFR, introduced himself to representatives of the Czechoslovak mass media yesterday, on the occasion of the official inauguration of the Israeli Embassy building in Prague. The brief inauguration ceremony was attended, among others, by CSFR Defense Minister Lubos Dobrovsky; Shirley Temple-Black, U.S. ambassador to the CSFR; as well as a representative of the Soviet Embassy. [passage omitted]

Political Parties Want Limits on Refugees

AU1312151890 Prague CTK in English 1521 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 11 (CTK)—The number of refugees Czechoslovakia will receive must be in harmony with its possibilities, Czechoslovak political parties and movements agreed in their replies to a CTK question concerning the expected influx of refugees from the East.

The strongest Czech political movement, Civic Forum (OF), voiced the view that Czechoslovakia can absorb without problems several thousands of refugees, while dozens or hundreds of thousands of them would cause serious difficulties to the country.

Priority must be given to persons persecuted for their political or religious persuasions, the OF said, but added that the influx of people from the USSR to Czechoslovakia will be rather people leaving their homeland for economic reasons. But these persons are not eligible for being granted the refugee status.

The leadership of the Czechoslovak People's Party thinks that "it is necessary to regulate the number of refugees admitted to Czechoslovakia, for instance, through the implementation of the law on refugees regarding our moral commitments towards the Czech minority in the USSR. The quantity of refugees we shall receive should be determined by our economic, accommodation, organizational and other possibilities".

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia thinks that the refugee problem should be tackled in harmony with the law on refugees, "and this both eastwards, and westwards, and northwards, and southwards".

The law on refugees in Czechoslovakia was approved by Czechoslovak parliament in the autumn and will take effect on January 1, 1991. Currently, there are 995 refugees belonging to 15 nationalities. The strongest group among them are Romanians. The refugees stay in three refugee camps in the Czech lands.

Relative Calm So Far Along USSR Border

AU1312153290 Prague CTK in English 2227 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Kosice, East Slovakia, Dec 11 (CTK)—The borders between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union are relatively calm for the time being and no special arrangements are being made for their protection, said head of the Office for Protection of State Borders Major Miroslav Syrovatka here today.

The border patrol in Eastern Slovakia has been strengthened since November 1 by the addition of guards from the western border where the situation is stable. This reinforcement applies not only to the border with the Soviet Union but also to borders with Poland and Hungary where "enterprising persons" have been trying to smuggle goods that are either attractively cheap or in short supply in both directions, said Syrovatka.

The rumor that Czechoslovakia is starting to build protective structures along its border with the USSR is not true, said Syrovatka. "What is true, however, is that such structures are in place along 97 kilometers of the border on the Soviet side. And as far as I know.... They

are not considering either taking them down or strengthening them. In several locations where they have been removed along Soviet borders with Hungary and Rumania, predominantly in tourist areas, there have been conflicts. We will continue to defend our border together (with the Soviets) as we have up to now."

Chernobyl Citizens With CSFR Ties To Repatriate

AU1412174990 Prague CTK in English 1953 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 12 (CTK)—According to the proposal for a new health care system submitted to the Czech Government today by Minister of Health Pavel Bojar, the state guarantees adequate health care for all citizens in the Czech Republic with the care itself to be provided by several different sectors.

Bojar's proposal would break the current state monopoly on health care, allowing citizens to obtain care also through their province, community, enterprise, or through a private arrangement. Health insurance would be obligatory and every citizen would be free to choose his or her own doctor and health plan. This arrangement will require a greater financial contribution from communities, enterprises and individuals than in the past, and also increased public supervision of health care services.

The Czech Government also agreed to the resettlement of Soviet citizens of Czech and Slovak origin and their families from areas afflicted by the Chernobyl disaster to Czechoslovakia. This decision concerns 964 Soviet applicants who inhabit the area that received the greatest exposure to radiation from the April 1986 nuclear power plant accident.

Joint Agreement on Pipeline System Reached

AU1412170190 Prague CTK in English 1441 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Bratislava Dec 12 (CTK)—Representatives of the Czech and Slovak Ministries of Industry signed here an agreement last night providing for the foundation of a 'Transpetrol' joint-stock company based in the Slovak capital.

Founders of the company, which is to be created on January 1, 1991, are the two republics' ministries. If the profit substantially differs from the Slovak and Czech stakes in the joint stock company, the two sides will return to the issue again. An administrative board made up of Czech and Slovak nationals will be in charge of the company.

The pipelines transport raw oil from the Soviet Union to Western Europe. The problem connected with their division was one of the controversial issues of the agreement of the division of powers between the two republics and the federation.

"The creation of the joint-stock company must be discussed by the Czech and Slovak Governments", Czech Minister of Industry Jan Vrba told newsmen in Prague today.

The foundation of the company will be followed by privatization of the pipeline which should become part of the West European systems, he said and admitted that the adoption of the agreement has been accelerated by the latest development in the Czecho-Slovak relations. Very reasonable opinions prevailed in Bratislava in the final stage of the talks, the Czech minister said.

Government Discusses Plan for C. Europe, USSR

LD1312130990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1200 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] The Federal Government, meeting in Prague today, discussed possibilities for a stabilizing plan for Central Europe and the Soviet Union. It stressed that the possible international aid to the Soviet Union would have to focus on reconstruction of the most critical spheres of Soviet economy—extraction of crude oil, development of agricultural production and the food processing industry, an so forth. Czechoslovakia should apply and complete for participation in these projects.

Members of the Federal Government also recommended the examination of possible joint projects of three Central European countries to improve the situation in this region and its interlinking with Europe.

The Federal Government also dealt with the budget requirements for the Czechoslovak Press Agency.

U.S. Trade Official Offers Private Aid

AU1312154490 Prague CTK in English 2230 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 11 (CTK)—There is "a very good economic climate in Czechoslovakia" for environmental aid from the U.S. private sector, U.S. Deputy Secretary of Commerce James Lake said at a press conference here today.

Lake is leading a group of representatives from 12 well-known U.S. firms in the field of environmental protection on a five-day study mission that began December 9. Members of the mission are meeting with officials from both the Czechoslovak Ministry of Economics and the Environment, as well as representatives of Czechoslovak industry and organizations that concern themselves with the environment, in an effort to obtain as much information as possible about the Czechoslovak environmental situation.

Several of the firms, including the Construction Control Services Corporation, EBA Wastechnologies, the Morison Knudsen Corporation, and McDermott/Babcock and Wilcox, are expected to offer assistance on the basis of this visit, primarily in the area of manufacturing and services.

Havel Congratulates Walesa on Election Victory

LD1212162190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1400 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Republic President Vaclav Havel sent a telegram of congratulations to Lech Walesa on his election as president of the Republic of Poland. He expressed his conviction that relations between Czechoslovakia and Poland will be aimed at creating a new model of mutual co-existence and cooperation, to the benefit of the nations of both countries, on all levels and in all areas.

Economic Cooperation Agreement Signed With Poland

LD1512095890 Prague Television Service in Slovak 1830 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] The Governments of Czechoslovakia and Poland signed an agreement in Prague today on trade and payments which regulates principles of economic cooperation and mutual exchanges of goods beginning in 1991. At the same time a protocol was signed on the settlement of mutual accounts and pledges in payments in connection with the transition to account-settling in freely convertible currencies from January of next year.

Austrian Chancellor Demands Nuclear Plant Closure

LD1312144590 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1400 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Austria resolutely demands closure of the Czechoslovak nuclear power plant in Jaslovske Bohunice. This was announced by Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky today after publication in Vienna of a report by an international experts' group, which was to establish the degree of risk in the running of this power plant.

To Be Closed If 'Necessary'

LD1512103290 Prague CTK in English 2016 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 14 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa told Austrian Ambassador Karl Peterlik here today that Czechoslovakia will close down the nuclear power plant V-1 at Jaslovske Bohunice, West Slovakia, immediately if it deems it necessary.

Peterlik handed over to Calfa a letter from Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky, prompted by a report from an Austrian expert commission which recommends the immediate closure of both Soviet-type units at Jaslovske Bohunice since they do not meet Western safety standards.

Vranitzky asks Calfa that the report be studied by Czechoslovak experts so that further joint course of action can be worked out, and offers to create in Czechoslovakia a warning system to be paid by Austria.

The Jaslovske Bohunice V-1 plant is the oldest in Czechoslovakia. It was built in the mid-1960's and went into operation in 1972.

Professor Manfred Heindler, head of the team which inspected the plant, said that the study was elaborated in cooperation with the plant's operators and that their views on the state of its safety are identical, but they differ in views on how to solve the situation. The Austrian side demands immediate closure of the two units while Czechoslovak experts favour overall reconstruction which, however, is not viewed as sufficient by Austria.

At the meeting with the Austrian ambassador, Calfa recalled that the conclusions of a Czechoslovak expert commission led by Federal Environment Minister Josef Vavrousek, which inspected the plant from last September, and those of the German firm Siemans and the Vienna-based International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) which, too, studied safety at Jaslovske Bohunice, agree that there exists not a single cause for the immediate closure of V-1. The nuclear safety state inspection body of the Czechoslovak Commission for Atomic Energy can see no reason for closing the plant either, Calfa said.

He also informed Peterlik of Czechoslovakia's complex situation in the sphere of energy as burning of low-quality coal constitutes a big burden for the environment. Therefore, the country has practically no other alternative but to rely on nuclear power (which now covers some 25 per cent of electric power consumption).

Moreover, Czechoslovakia faces reduction in supplies from the joint grid from the Soviet Union, and that is why it seeks possibilities of being linked to the West (Austria, Germany and Italy).

The Austrian side promised to quickly study possibilities of supplying its energy to Slovakia in the event of the Jaslovske Bohunice closure.

Commenting on the Austrian proposal to build a warning system, Calfa said this should be solved in international context, since also other Austria's neighbours generate nuclear energy.

Zdenek Kritz, chief of the Czechoslovak state nuclear safety inspection of the Federal Committee for the Environment, told CTK today that the closure of the V-1 plant at Jaslovske Bohunice is in no case considered in the next two years at least.

He based his statement on a report by a Czechoslovak commission of experts which is now being completed to be submitted to the federal government by December 31, 1990, and on reports of internatioanl expert groups mentioned also by Prime Minister Calfa.

Their conclusions were also recalled by head of the nuclear power plants operation department of the Bratislava-based Slovak Energy Authority Miroslav Lipar, who noted that they justify the conclusion that the plant can remain in operation. The units' shortcomings can be removed, and their medium- or long-term operation can be ensured.

Meciar on Inspections

LD1512054690 Prague CTK in English 0034 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] Bratislava Dec 14 (CTK)—Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar told journalists here today that after four inspections at the Jaslovske Bohunice nuclear power plant it is clear that its V-1 section will not serve as long as it had been originally planned but its safety is guaranteed for another three to five years.

Speaking after a Slovak cabinet session Meciar said that safety checks will be carried out at short intervals which will make it possible to shut down the plant immediately at any sign of danger.

The prime minister also commented on reasons why work has been stopped on a substitute project, the Gabcikovo water works on the Danube originally planned jointly by Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Meciar called it an economic and ecological, as well as a political move of the Hungarian side. (Hungary withdrew from the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros energy project giving ecological reasons for its step.)

Meciar said Hungary had been asked to provide expertise justifying its steps but none has been received. According to the Slovak prime minister every day of delay in the start-up of the hydropower plant costs Czechoslovakia ten million crowns. In addition, 3,000-6,000 million crowns will be required to remove ecological damage if the project is not completed.

The cabinet also dealt with the prospects of automobile production in the Bratislava motor industry works. The government is resolved not to negotiate with anybody else than General Motors by December 15 but no decisions have been made, Meciar announced.

President Havel Returns From Spain, Portugal

LD1512125190 Prague CTK in English 1043 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 15 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel returned here from an official visit to Spain and Portugal shortly after midnight.

He had talks with Spanish King Juan Carlos I and Portuguese President Mario Soares. The discussions proved Spain's and Portugal's support for the democratic changes in Czechoslovakia and the country's effort to join European structures.

Reportage on Havel Visit to Portugal

WA1412204590

For reportage on the visit by President Havel to Portugal, including reports on his talks with President Mario Soares, please see the Portugal section of the 14 December West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Greenpeace Wants Immediate Closure of MAPE Plant

AU1412175090 Prague CTK in English 1939 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 12 (CTK)—Members of the Austrian branch of the international ecological organization Greenpeace told journalists here today that the alarming findings they made during their activity of several months in Czechoslovakia lead them to recommend the immediate closure of the MAPE plant at Mydlovary, south Bohemia.

MAPE is a uranium industry chemical processing plant whose activity has had alarming negative impact on its surroundings, according to Greenpeace activists.

They recalled at the press conference their earlier information about radioactivity surpassing the range of their measuring instrument at some places near MAPE, about several ecological disasters in the plant in the past whose consequences are still traceable, and others.

The ecologists supported their claims by a film document, photographs, polluted samples, evidence of an expert who conducted measurements at MAPE, etc.

Greenpeace drew attention to the situation at MAPE already earlier this year, but its assertions were dismissed by representatives of the plant and other responsible officials as ungrounded.

Last month, a forgotten radioactive waste dump was unearthed near the plant. Though the radioactivity is high there, experts said it does not pose any danger to its vicinity.

An official of the Czech Environment Ministry today appreciated the Greenpeace initiative and said that the findings made thus far should not rouse fear of a general danger.

The Austrian Greenpeace activists, however, hold the view that radiation in adjacent regions cannot be ruled out for several generations to come.

According to them, MAPE is not the worst of its kind in Czechoslovakia, and therefore Greenpeace wants to continue to give attention to the country in this respect.

Government Reshuffle Continues; Developments Given

Prime Minister Briefs Press 14 Dec

LD1412184290 Budapest MTI in English 1741 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, December 14 (MTI)—Prime Minister Jozsef Antall read out the statement dealing with the cabinet reshuffle to journalists in Budapest on Friday.

While reading out the changes in personnel, the prime minister paused only once at the exemption of Interior Minister Balazs Horvath pointing out that he regards the outgoing minister as his closest aid, who otherwise continues to have his full confidence. Antall said that should the national meeting of the Hungarian Democratic Forum opening on Saturday confirm him as president, he will propose Balazs Horvath, acting as a minister without portfolio, to be appointed as acting vice-president of the party.

Antall spoke about further changes in personnel in the offing and, with reference to the budgetary debate, he stated that notwithstanding the changes, the government would do its utmost to have the 1991 budget adopted this year, under any circumstances.

Afterwards the new inheritors of the vacant government posts made their ideas known to the journalists. Finance minister designate Mihaly Kupa said that the economic situation was critical but not catastrophic, and foreign capital was showing definite interest in Hungary. He said the main danger now was inflation, which was destroying the economy. As the main elements of the new economic policy, Kupa listed limiting and cutting back the role of the state in the economy, establishing a market-friendly tax system, and putting the social functions of the state on a new financial basis. He ascribed great importance to social consensus and continuous dialogue with the representative organizations.

Peter Boross, would-be minister of the interior, said his aim was to strengthen the democratic nature of public administration and set up a police capable of guaranteeing the calm and security of all citizens.

Katalin Botos stressed the importance of consistently implementing the reform of the banking system, and recommended the Austrian model as an example to be followed.

Andras Galszecsy mentioned the establishment of a national security service free from party influence as his principal object.

Antall Queried on Reshuffle 14 Dec

LD1412212890 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Interview with Prime Minister Joszef Antall by unidentified reporter in Budapest on 14 December—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The news of the day is that Prime Minister Jozsef Antall presented the first phase of his government reshuffle program. Names were mentioned which did not surprise anyone, but there were also names which caused surprise. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] A new government tableau was prepared today. I have an idea of what this might mean for those who must go, and what it means for those who come in their place, but how does the prime minister feel at such a time?

[Antall] Naturally, it is not easy for one to part company with his colleagues. It was with great difficulty that I set myself to work on putting people in worse situations than they had been in, and to be sure this is always difficult, not only in the case of ministers or state secretaries.

This is not what is at issue here, properly speaking. In a parliamentary democracy ministers change—ministers come, ministers go—and they might return again, as a result precisely of ministerial responsibility, the more open debates within government. So in a parliamentary democracy such a thing does not ever mean a defeat, a conclusive defeat, and primarily, it does not mean that they exclude themselves from a political life forever.

[Reporter] Why did you part company with precisely those people to whom you said farewell? Did the opposition or public opinion have a role in this?

[Antall] At most, this could be said in an indirect manner, that opposition opinions or public opinion can reflect certain problems. Government, properly speaking, obviously has some points where more difficult, aggravated situations might emerge, and where politicians fail or better solutions are undertaken.

We can safely say that one of the problems is the economic sphere, an issue in economic leadership. It is not an issue in economic leadership of there having been incredibly large personal differences, or other conflicts. What is at issue is simply that in the country's serious economic situation, everyone seeks a solution and seeks what is good. For this reason, there were conflicts. Differences of opinion, therefore, emerged in the economic ministries, or between certain members of the economic cabinet; furthermore, amid the differences of opinion it became necessary to carry out the first reshuffles.

[Reporter] With the stepping down off Balazs Horvath, who is the second in command?

[Antall] On the basis of the currently valid Hungarian provisions, the deputy for the prime minister in all cases is from the office of ministers of the interior, if no one else is designated.

MTI Profiles New Government Members

LD1412232490 Budapest MTI in English 1825 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, December 14 (MTI) - Dr Balazs Horvath

Born in Budapest in 1942. Graduated from the Faculty of Law of Eotvos Lorand University of Arts and Sciences. Solicitor in Veszprem. Founding member of the Hungarian Democratic Forum and member of parliament.

Minister of home affairs since May 23, 1990. The prime minister has now proposed him for the post of minister without portfolio. Married with an actress. His two daughters are studying at a high school.

Dr Peter Boross

Born at Nagybajom, Somogy County, in 1928. Graduated as a lawyer in 1951, then staff member of the Budapest Metropolitan Council. During the 1956 revolution, he was elected member of the Revolutionary Committee. For this reason, he was dismissed in January 1957, then arrested and interned. Worked as a factory hand, picture hawker, bartender and then head of a catering unit, became manager of a big catering company in 1971. Retired in 1989. As a minister without portfolio in Jozsef Antall's government, he supervised the Information Office and the Office of National Security. He has never joined any party. Father of two and grandfather of one.

Dr Andras Galszecsy

Born in 1933. Deported with his family to Hortobagy where he worked as a farm hand. Soldier, then factory hand. Completed studies at the evening section of the university and graduated as economist and lawyer. From the mid-1960s to 1979, he worked in public administration.

He is not member of any party. His wife is working in the health sector and his daughter is a teacher.

Dr Mihaly Kupa

Born in Budapest in 1941. Worker in the Chinoin pharmaceutical factory from 1959 to 1969. Graduated from the evening section of the University of Economics. From 1969 to 1975, staff member of the Central Statistical Office specialized in infrastructure and financial statistics. Received a doctor's degree from the University of Economics in 1975. Worked in the Institute for Financial Research from 1975 to 1984 and in the Ministry of Finance from 1984 to 1990, and specialized in monetary and fiscal policy and the budgetary reform. From July 1, 1990, head of the Budapest office of one of the world's largest financial consulting firms.

He has never joined any party. Separated, father of four.

Dr Erno Pungor

Born in Vasszecseny in 1923. Graduated as a physicist and chemist from the Pazmany Peter University of Arts and Sciences. Received a doctor's degree in 1949 and became the doctor of chemistry in 1956. From 1970 to 1990, head of the general and analytical chemistry department of Budapest Technical University. From 1972 to 1981, dean of the faculty of chemical engineering, from August 15, 1990 president of the State Office for Technical Development.

Received a state prize for the international introduction of ion-selective electrodes in 1972.

Dr Katalin Botos

Born in Nagyvarad in 1941. Graduated from the department of finance of Budapest University of Economics. Staff member of the Hungarian Investment Bank, then worked in the Ministry of Finance and the Institute for Financial Research. Became a doctor of economics in 1987. Lecturer at the departments of finance and world economy of the University of Economics from 1965. Titular assistant professor since 1975. Lecturer at the Eotvos Lorand University of Arts and Sciences since 1981. Became a titular professor in 1990. Elected MP on the list of the Hungarian Democratic Forum.

She was appointed to parliamentary state secretary of finance on May 25, 1990.

Dr Jeno Laszlo

Born in Budapest in 1939. After passing the final examination, he worked as a turner in the Institute for Electric Automatics. Graduated as a mechanical engineer from the evening section of the university. Received a doctor's degree of agricultural technology in 1976. Up to now, managing director of the Limited Liability Company for Engineering Development and Design. Full or partial owner of a number of inventions.

He has never joined any party. Married, a father of three.

Former Interior Minister Expresses Views

LD1512113590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0545 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Interview with Balazs Horvath by unidentified reporter in the Interior Ministry building; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Unidentified reporter] I conversed with Dr. Balazs Horvath in connection with the announcement of the government reshuffle and the national meeting of the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] starting today, in the Interior Ministry building. First I asked him—referring to the fact that Balazs Horvath as minister without portfolio will be responsible for the fostering of the relationship between parliament and the government—if this means that the relationship between parliament and the government is bad.

[Horvath] I think that the relationship is not ideal. There has been storm in parliament. People, as well as parliamentary deputies simply hardly believe that there is more than one party, some of them in opposition and some of them in the government. This status of a parliamentary mediator-minister was set up precisely to ease such conflicts. This is not a Hungarian idea; this so-called ministerial task, post is well known in bourgeois democracies. Its objective is to create agreement between parliament and the government during periods when the parliament does not meet.

[Reporter] Does this release mean a promotion for Balazs Horvath or do you really feel and look at it the same way as the public—that is, that you have been dismissed?

[Horvath] I have not been dismissed. It is well known in Western European parliamentary democracies that ministers keep changing their positions. [passage omitted]

Regarding the weight of the portfolio—that is, the difficulty of the task to be carried out—let me say the following: I think that the task awaiting me is at least as difficult. I do not want to sound conceited, but I think that under my leadership the Interior Ministry has undergone significant organizational changes on the one hand; on the other hand, it has solved immensely difficult tasks such as the carrying out of the elections, the switch over of the administration to self-government system, the working out of the police bill, the transformation of a police ministry into a civil ministry, the bringing in of the weapons carried for self defence, the police action against strangers, and some technical development of the police within our means, I mean the foreign motor vehicles. I think these qualify one's work. This is not, however, what I regard as significant. I consider significant what is awaiting me now. To establish an ideal relationship, if that is at all possible, between the government and the whole of parliament. This is one area. The other area is the representation of the interests of the Hungarian minority living outside our borders. I would like to be the advocate of those million Hungarians who live outside the borders. [passage omitted]

SZDSZ Reserves Judgment

LD1412233790 Budapest MTI in English 1923 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, December 14 (MTI)—The Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD) [SZDSZ], the largest oposition party and the second largest parliamentary party, will not as yet given an opinion about the new government members and takes a wait-and-see position. This was how executive Miklos Haraszti summed up the AFD's view on the government reshuffle at a press conference.

The AFD invariably awaits for the government to finally create some sort of economic policy conception, for it to have crisis- management programme, and for it to be able to break that down into concrete measures and have it approved by society.

Gaspar Miklos Tamas reported about the visit of the AFD's two-member delegation to Romania, terming this as important and successful regarding the establishment of relations between the two countries. He termed it regrettable that [such] information as, for example, the opening of 40 new Hungarian schools in Romania, and the slight improvement in local food supply, does not reach the Hungarian public.

Nagy Reelected FKgP Chair

LD1512154690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] At the session of the board of the Independent Smallholders Party [FKgP], Ferenc Jozef Nagy was reelected party chairman. Sandor Olah, general secretary, did not want a repeat of voting, although it was suggested to him by several people, as merely one vote made the decision in favor of Sandor Olah.

New Finance Minister Gives Speech

LD1512154190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] Mihaly Kupa says that he accepted the leadership of the Finance Ministry because he is convinced that the country's potential is good, and that the majority of foreign states is ready to establish economic relations.

The finance minister-designate talked about this at the delegates' meeting of the Hungarian Economic Chamber. He said that no significant upswing could be expected, but that he would try to shape a long-term, stable economic policy. To this end he asked for the chamber's support. According to Mihaly Kupa, a revision and change of function in state finances is necessary, because it is still the state that subsidizes smallholders in several areas. He stressed that the tax system should be changed, although that this would not mean tax reduction, but equity and the consideration of a market economy.

Democratic Forum Holds National Congress 15 Dec

Antall Gives Speech

LD1512131890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Report by Gyorgy Mey on the national congress of the Hungarian Democratic Forum; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] The Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] is the unison of people's national thought, of Christian democracy in the European sense, and of the idea of national liberalism—that is, of political and intellectual trends completing one another. These are the basic values of a movement of people's party character, said

Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, party chairman, in his opening speech. He ended that those who do not represent this in synthesis, who want to set them against one another, want either to smash the MDF from the inside or divide it from the outside—which, with respect to the latter, Rakosi might have succeeded in doing, but others here would not.

The party chairman justified, with personal examples, why he joined the movement and had taken the leadership of the party upon himself. He referred to Bela Kovacs and Istvan Bibo. From Bela Kovacs, he quoted that a united people's party was necessary, one that did not represent one class, one stratum. Bibo's thought was also of a similar spirit—namely, I quote: We have to unify, because this country needs a strong national democratic center party.

Jozsef Antall considered the debate on whether the MDF should be a movement or a party an ill-timed issue, because, as he said, the party character is obvious based on its undertakings—and then it is already time to make preparations, anyway. Jozsef Antall is to finish his speech soon; he is still speaking. [passage omitted]

He repeated the pronouncement that created a particularly stormy atmosphere at the time—namely, that he was the prime minister of 10 million Hungarians in the legal sense, but that in his feelings, in his spirit, he intended to be the prime minister of 15 million Hungarians. This sentence was received with enormous applause, which was repeated when he added that those who saw chauvinism in this were impudent. He used the same term for those accusing or having accused the Hungarian foreign political practice of either extreme friendship toward Germany, neglect of French and Anglo-Saxon relations, an anti-Soviet attitude, or damage to the relationship with our neighbors. With respect to the latter, Jozsef Antall reckoned that tension was natural, and could not be avoided for the moment. The MDF congress will continue its work in the afternoon with closed sessions of the sections.

Horvath Proposed as MDF Vice President

LD1512223290 Budapest MTI in English 2025 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, December 15 (MTI)—An international press conference was held on Saturday in the Budapest headquarters of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) [MDF]. At the press conference, Jozsef Antall said he cannot accept the post of prime minister, inasmuch as he cannot serve as president of the HDF. In his evaluation of the situation, it cannot be allowed amidst the current political conditions for some sort of two-pole system to come about by separating the two functions.

With respect to the function of acting vice president, Mr. Antall said: "It seems unavoidable in the course of building the party for the party's elected president to make his own proposal about the person he is able to cooperate with."

As was reported, Mr. Antall proposed Balazs Horvath, who stepped down as minister of the interior on Friday, to serve as acting vice president of the HDF.

Mr. Antall said the case is not that Mr. Horvath had failed as minister of the interior; quite the contrary, he fulfilled his work in an excellent manner, and created Hungary's local government structure. Therefore, he "would enter history as one of the founders of modern Hungary."

"Balazs Horvath excellently represented the country. He is among those members of Hungarian political life who, in my view, will have a long political career," the prime minister said.

The themes discussed by the 16 sections were also set forth at the press conference.

The HDF national rally is to continue on Sunday.

Antall Reelected MDF Chairman

LD1612174690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Excerpts] Here is Janos Hollos to sum up today's events at the two-day congress of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]:

[Hollos] Prime Minsiter Jozsef Antall is again chairman of the MDF; furthermore, he was reelected with a sweeping majority. Out of 948 valid votes, 908 confirmed the former party chairman in his office.

Apart from the chairman, the national conference has elected a new 20-man presidium. Its members are, in order of popularity: Sandor Csoori, Sandor Lezsak, Lajos Juer, Denes Csengey, Istvan Csurka, Balazs Horvath, (Peter Nahimi), Imre Furman, Imre Konya, Gyorgy Szabad, and Istvan Bethlen. [passage omitted]

This afternoon the leaders of yesterday's section sessions reported on the results of the work carried out in the committees. [passage omitted] According to Istvan Bethlen, head of the economic section, the MDF's economic policy has not been adequately implemented by the government. Precisely for this reason a national economic conference must be convened by 15 February at the latest, which the country's economic leaders must also be obliged to attend. [passage omitted]

Denes Csengey spoke on behalf of the political section. He said that there is no need to change the MDF's political direction. The voters are rejecting not the program but the fact that its realization is slow, fragmentary, and hesitant, he assessed. For example, there has been no historical justice, no settling of accounts, no legal calling to account of those who committed political and economic crimes, he stated.

Antall Speaks at Close of Congress

LD1612215590 Budapest MTI in English 1927 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, December 16 (MTI)—The 4th national rally of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) [MDF] analyzed the hitherto activity of the government in a critical manner. The government will take the criticism to heart, and continues to strive to appraise the views of the country's population in a correct manner, said Jozsef Antall, in his closing address at the meeting, in Budapest on Sunday.

Mr. Antall appreciated the first anniversary of the uprising in Timisoara, Romania. The anniversary offers an opportunity for us to state, avoiding even the semblence of interference, that Hungary expects the ensurance of the human rights and minority existence of all Hungarians living beyond the borders, he said.

The HDF president appreciated the acceptance of sacrifices by Lazslo Tokes, and stressed that the reformed Bishop has always taken a stand for the reconciliation of the Hungarian and the Romanian people. Hungary is not an enemy of anyone, Mr. Antall said, and it expects not to be used to fabricate an enemy picture by anyone.

Mr. Antall dealt with the issue of administering justice. In his view, this is mainly a legal issue, and where the legal means permit, criminal proceedings can be initiated against those responsible, but in cases where the law does not make this possible, there are no means to call people to account.

In spite of the problems and contradictions, the greatest merit of the government is that Hungary, although growing poor, is the most promising country of the region. The world gives Hungary the best chances for overcoming the crisis. The government calls on everyone to cooperate in the interest of utilizing this possibility.

Antall Questioned on Economic Policy

LD1612223190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Interview with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall by Janos Hollos in Budapest on 16 December—recorded]

[Text] [Hollos] First, my congratulations to you, Mr. Prime Minister, for being reelected chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]. Second, my question is: How far do you feel the conference resolutions bind you? I am thinking here that the economic faction accepted a 23-point resolution which demands that the government establish a key economic ministry, and that instead of a restrictive policy, an enterprise friendly and reviving policy should be conducted.

[Antall] It is the function of the national conference to make resolutions which are indicative for the government. The government is a coalition government; furthermore, it follows that the government must always coordinate its political aims with the coalition partners, and make use of them within the opportunities provided by parliament.

Concerning the specific question, in Hungary an economic policy must be conducted which satisfies at the same time to balance of the budget, including in this of course the acceptable level of deficits, monetary policy unavoidable from the point of the international financial world, and an enterprise friendly environment; all these must be represented together. Anyone trying to separate any one of these from the others is either ignorant or a demagogue. There is no enterprise revitalizing policy which disregards the budgetary balance, and which pays no attention to the need for Hungary to retain its solvency.

[Hollos] How do you evaluate the fourth national MDF conference? Does this mean a renewal of the party, or rather the continuity?

[Antall] Both; we have to preserve the values, but we must end certain self-tortures, and we must end some internal disputes leading nowhere. Instead of them, the main emphasis must be placed on real and relevant questions, and only such a renewed, protective [protekcionista] political party will be able to become and remain the leading political force of the country.

Foreign Ministry Views Council of Europe, Gulf

LD1712150690 Budapest MTI in English 1416 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, December 17 (MTI)—The Council of Europe is to hold a ministerial meeting in Vienna on January 24-25 to discuss the issue of the "Great migration" from East to West, spokesman Janos Herman said at the usual Monday press briefing of the Foreign Ministry.

Participants of the ministerial meeting will discuss the problem of making a distinction between the status of emigrants and that of real refugees, the co-ordination of visa policies and co-operation in coping with illegal immigration.

The spokesman announced State Secretary Tamas Katona's visit to Egypt between January 3 and 7.

Herman also stated that Hungary has established ties of diplomacy with the Republic of Malawi. (Hungary maintains diplomatic relations with all African countries, except South Africa.)

As regards Hungarian medical units going to the gulf, State Secretary Katona stressed that Hungary cannot remain indifferent when a defenceless country is occupied. The sending of the medical units still requires parliament's consent.

Inauguration, President's Activities Announced

LD1512172490 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1615 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] The celebrations connected with the swearing-in of Lech Walesa as Polish president have been announced. The swearing-in ceremony itself will probably be held on 22 December at midday. The president's first steps will be to the Belweder presidential palace. In the afternoon, Lech Walesa will receive the prewar presidential insignia from Ryszard Kaczorowski [president of the Polish government in exile]. On his first day, the president will be crowned by a mass at the Cathedral of St. John celebrated for the intention of the homeland and the president. The mass will be celebrated by Primate Cardinal Jozef Glemp. The new president will then officially receive the supreme command of the Armed Forces.

[Warsaw Radio in Polish at 1000 GMT 17 Dec reports the following: It has been officially confirmed that the swearing-in of President Lech Walesa will take place on Saturday, 22 December, in the Sejm building in the presence of deputies and senators.]

Mission of President in Exile Arrives in Warsaw

LD1612181390 Warsaw PAP in English 1657 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 16—A mission of the Polish president in exile arrived from London here today.

Members of the mission are to hold talks concerning the date as well as legal, political and official issues of handing over the presidential insignia—now in the possession of exile president Ryszard Kaczorowski—to the democratically elected president of the Republic of Poland.

The mission is led by head of the Polish parliament in exile and chairman of the World Federation of Polish War Veterans' Associations Zygmunt Szadkowski and composed of ministers of the government in exile Ryszard Zakrzewski, Jerzy Morawicz and Jerzy Zaleski.

Walesa Addresses Gdansk Shipyard Memorial Service

LD1612155990 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Text] The president-elect, Lech Walesa, as he has for the past years, has laid a wreath at the foot of the monument to the fallen shipyard workers [in Gdansk]. A roll-call of the fallen was also read out. Speaking during the course of the ceremony, Lech Walesa said:

[Begin Walesa recording] Esteemed gathering! We stand in a place where 20 years ago innocent people were killed. We bow our heads before them. They gave their lives for us. Solidarity was born from their blood. I have already spoken in this place more than once, in good times and in bad. I promised that we would meet at the monument every year. Today, I am with you as the president-elect. [applause]

I can fulfill the last will of the fallen of 1970. Their tragedy cannot be repeated. That is why we must constantly return here, to stay loyal to them. A free Poland is changing for the better, but too slowly. The last elections showed how great the forces of the old system still are. In defense of the reforms, however, the Poles mobilized their responsibility and patriotism. I thank everyone for this. Your decision constitutes an obligation for me. Enormous work awaits us. That is why, under the monument of the fallen, a sacred place, I call on all my countrymen: Take matters into your own hands and do not wait. The president of the republic, chosen through your will, will do everything so that on the road of reform you meet the least number of obstacles. The newly created government will present a program, a program taking into account your critical remarks put forward in the course of the election campaign. This program must be understandable and gain your acceptance. I do not, however, claim that this will be an easy program. We will lift up our country, through the effort of the entire nation. We will implement the last will of the fallen.

Until our next meeting in a year's time. [applause] [end recording]

Olszewski Nomination Information 'Inaccurate'

LD1512221590 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1830 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Excerpt] There have been a series of meetings in Sopot again today connected with the formation of a new government and the creation of a presidential office. No information was given on results or on specific personnel decisions. Everything, however, points to the fact that lawyer Jan Olszewski will most likely become prime minister. Belgian Television has already held an interview with him. [passage omitted]

[Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish at 2145 GMT 15 Dec reports the following: The information relayed by us after the report from the French press agency AFP regarding Lech Walesa nominating the lawyer Jan Olszewski as prime minister has turned out to be inaccurate. The president-elect only authorized Jan Olszewski to conduct preliminary talks with a view to forming a cabinet.]

Tyminski Protest Demands Repeat of Elections

LD1512213690 Warsaw PAP in English 2026 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 15—The Supreme Court here received today a protest filed by Stanislaw Tyminski via the Polish Consulate in Toronto, Canada.

Stanislaw Tyminski claims that Article 81 of the Polish Constitution was violated in the presidential campaign

as equal civil rights had been infringed upon and hatred and contempt had been disseminated.

He therefore demands the elections be repeated.

Tyminski's protest is to be considered on Monday [17 December].

Commission Reports on Election Validity

LD1312232990 Warsaw PAP in English 2244 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 13—Today the State Electoral Commission made a report on presidential elections for the General Assembly, to be also tabled to the Sejm speaker on December 14. The assembly will gather to state the validity of the election of the president after the Supreme Court has examined election protests.

The report is a 14-page document presenting preparations for and the course of the elections in detail. In it the commission made some remarks and suggestions pointing to the imperfection of the regulations of the law on the election of the president and to the perfunctory knowledge of the election law. It also put stress on a number of critical remarks concerning the decision to hold the second round of the elections only in Polish territory, thus excluding Poles residing permanently abroad.

The commission is expected to meet again in two months to analyse reports of election staffs on the financing of the election campaign.

Mazowiecki Delivers Formal Resignation Speech

LD1412122690 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0810 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Speech by Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki at Sejm session in Warsaw—live]

[Text] Mr. Speaker, may it please the house. In accordance with the wishes of the esteemed chamber, deputies have received a report on the government's activities for the 15 months since its appointment on 12 September 1989. It is not my intention to present this expansive document, nor to comment on it. I merely wish to say what I think is important, on account of the historical moment at which the change of government is taking place.

May it please the house. On this day on which the Sejm is examining a resolution on accepting the government's resignation, there is no way one cannot have thoughts about the road upon which Poland has travelled during the past 15 months. This was a time of deep transformation of the political and economic system of our country. Poland was changing and, following its example, so was the whole of Central Europe.

Fifteen months ago, there was a different Poland, and a different situation in the whole of our region. The political structures of the communist state and its untouched machinery of repression continued to exist in Poland. Central Europe, on the verge of awakening, remained with the old political models. The country's external position was far from one excluding the possibility of pressure on Poland. Awareness of these realities, a sense of responsibility for the security of the state and peace within the country, as well as total determination to guide Poland decidedly toward independence and democracy within a market economy—these were the conditions which have defined the activities of the government I have led from the beginning to this day.

Today, when the present government is departing, Poland is a different country. The system has been changed. We have moved from being a state belonging to the communist bloc, a state in many respects dependent on a foreign power, to an independent state, deciding its fate in a sovereign manner.

Today Poland is an equal partner, conducting friendly policies in relation to its neighbors, which have also yielded fruit through the final recognition of our western border. Poland is consistently rebuilding its prestige in the world. We have moved down the road from being a one-party state, aspiring to direct everything and playing the role of the highest arbitrator, to a state in which all may take advantage of freedom, in which the nation really decides who holds power.

Today, Poland is a state ruled by law, in which independent courts operate, in which the police and army are subordinate to the interests and security of the citizens. We have freedom of the press and freedom of association, where censorship no longer exists. The affairs of towns and parishes are in the hands of self-governments. We have moved from a centrally-planned economy subject to ideology, with an economy in a disintegration, ruined by hyperinflation, to a rational economic system in which the foundations of a market and market equilibrium already exist. We have a stable and convertible currency and a considerable surplus in foreign trade, which means we will not be leaving the coffers empty as it was when we took over the helm of the government.

When accepting responsibility for the state, we were aware of how serious the state of the country was. It, however, was only after taking office that we realized how serious it was. We never promised an easy path. From the outset we warned that it had never been possible to stifle inflation without serious social pain. We had to make the decision to work simultaneously to stabilize the economy and to restructure the entire economic system. We knew it was not a short party and that the beginning was the most difficult. It fell to this government to effect that difficult and painful beginning. We did not hesitate to do so, knowing that an even greater price would be paid by the public if we failed to do what was necessary. Not only the economic but all spheres of life have been affected by the changes.

The government is going only halfway down the path toward what it intended to achieve. We can, however,

say that everything we promised to do has been realized or started. I am painfully aware that our achievements have been paid for at severe social cost. Unemployment and the fall in production were an enormous, but unfortunately unavoidable price for the construction of the economy on healthy bases. We were continually faced with exceptionally difficult decisions when a choice had to be made among several worthy expectations which could not all be satisfied at the same time. We knew the changes in the economy would have to affect the workers of large industrial enterprises who played such a great role in attaining freedom. We perceived the difficulties associated with the introduction of the market system. We attempted to remedy the enormous social problems, but unfortunately Poland's possibilities were and remain very restricted. Those social costs, however, have not been in vain. There are already signs of a return to health and permanent changes: the (?disappearance) of queues, a richer assortment of goods, the development of the private sector, export expansion, healthy public finances, convertible money, an increasingly broad sphere for the competitive market. Other items that have not been manifested in a general and immediate improvement in living standards, but the foundations are gaining strength. A measurable expression of this is the $4 billion in hard currency reserves earned this year. They enable us to look with a far greater feeling of security than the other countries of our region at the approaching external difficulties.

I warmly thank everyone for their trust in us. It is society's contribution that Poland took the lead in the transformations among the countries departing from the communist system.

Mr. Speaker, esteemed chamber, once again I would like to recall the principles by which we were directed in our work. The firs, was the conviction that we must rebuild Poland with the participation of the whole nation, without dividing it. From the beginning, I strongly supported a Poland for all citizens, offering everyone equal opportunity, equal laws, and equal dignity. This stance was the result of our democratic convictions, rooted in Christian values. It was also the corollary to a realistic assessment of the state of society. I believed that our task was to offer everyone the chance for a new beginning. This principle, however, never signified impunity for people who took advantage of their positions for profit and (?to commit) crimes. A democracy is build only by democratic methods. It may only be created on the basis of respect, for law, even if it might sometimes appear to get in the way, hinder, and delay. Attempts to implement justice outside the law must rebound on themselves. I believed and continue to believe that effective policy cannot be conducted in the long-term if it is not built on the foundation of truth. An important principle, which I tried to implement when directing the work of the government, was that of telling society the truth: the truth about the state of the economy, the state's possibilities, the difficult period we had to go through if we wanted to make Poland a prosperous country and the lives of Poles better.

Certainly, we did not always manage to reach society effectively with this truth. This was a serious weakness in our work. No one in good faith, however, can accuse the government I led of trying to mislead society or of presenting unrealistic prospects of the road to prosperity and wealth. We did not try to raise groundless hopes. This principle should apply with particular force in Polish conditions, since for decades, society was fed falsehoods and been subjected to unrealistic illusions.

In an impoverished society, grappling with so many problems associated with leaving a communist system, empty promises are out. Sooner or later, the bills must be paid. Today, honesty particularly requires caution regarding anything which could possibly return us to great inflation. The foundation of our activity was mutual understanding between the government and society. From the very beginning, I was convinced that it was impossible to meet so difficult a task as had befallen our government (?to solve) without the understanding and participation of society. For many months we had evidence that this confidence existed. We were a government uniting society around two supreme aims: to bring Poland out of the economic crisis, and to build a democratic state. Unfortunately, this national agreement was destroyed. The evolutionary road to democracy and the economic reform which has only just begun now carry a question mark.

Mr. Speaker, may it please the house. I took the decision on the government's resignation true to my conscience and with the acceptance of the government, while guaranteeing fulfillment by the government of its constitutional functions until a new cabinet is formed. The helm of the state has not been abandoned. We are building a democratic system, and we must all respect the customs of democracy. I far from identify the degree of support I received in the presidential elections with the degree of support for the government program. The tragedy of the situation, however, is based on the fact that the expectations raised and promises made during the election campaign cannot be reconciled with continuation of the government program up till now. Thus understanding the verdict of the elections, I have respected the will of the majority by submitting the government's resignation.

Today, under Polish conditions, the leadership of the government and the difficult transition to a market economy requires wide public and political support and deep understanding on the part of various social groups. It is also understandable that the new president should have a totally free hand in his choice of prime minister.

For 45 years in Poland, we have been used to seeing the governing camp adopt the principle that once power is obtained, it is never relinquished. When I assumed the office of prime minister, we were all aware of the exceptionality of that moment. We undertook then, however, to work toward normality, toward a system in which a change in government did not have to occur exclusively through a revolution. That change, which is being made today, albeit painfully, is also the system of

normality which we have attained. It is testimony of how far Poland has travelled away from being a totalitarian state to democratic state during the last 15 months.

Mr. Speaker, ladies, and gentlemen: In conclusion, I would like to thank the esteemed chamber for its cooperation with the government which I directed. There were difficult moments in this chamber during that cooperation, but the laws which we jointly integrated into the public life of the democratic republic determine its image. I also offer thanks to the esteemed senate. I would also like to thank the president, with whom the cooperation of the government and prime minister throughout the entire period developed well. I renew my wishes to the newly elected president for fruitful activity for the common good of our homeland. In particular, I thank all those who persisted with me and with the government, with understanding and trust to the end.

A difficult time awaits us. In order to get through it together, a new consensus on the main political forces in Poland will be necessary. This does not mean a return to an artificial unity. While maintaining the identity of newly created political camps, we must now reach agreement in matters of supreme importance for Poland, rising above mutual animosities. I will continue to defend the values by which I served in the interests of an open, tolerant, and democratic Poland, a Poland true to its best national and Christian traditions, a Poland already different—to which the nation itself testifies when asking God to bless the free homeland—a Poland whose good stands above all our despondency, above sour rancors, and reverses. These pass, while it remains. [applause]

Parliament Accepts Resignation

LD1412144990 Warsaw PAP in English 1318 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 14—The Polish parliament today accepted resignation by the Mazowiecki government with 224 votes for, 16 against, and 122 abstentions. The prime minister and his cabinet received a standing ovation as a farewell from the chamber.

The outgoing cabinet did make mistakes, but not without assistance from the Sejm, Sejm speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz said after the vote. No other cabinet is going to get down to its tasks with such an amount of support or is likley to do as much within so short a period of time: it may expect shrinking confidence from the public or outright resistance instead, he added.

47th Sejm Session To Convene 19-21 Dec

LD1512222490 Warsaw PAP in English 2035 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 15—The presidium of Sejm (lower chamber of Polish parliament) decided to hold the 47th Sejm session on December 19, 20, and 21.

Main points on the expected agenda include a report prepared by the Economic Policy, Budget and Finance Committee and the Legislative Committee on the following governmental draft laws:

—Amendment to the turnover tax law;
—Amendment to the law on taxation of socialized economy units;
—Amendment to the law on income tax for bodies corporate; and
—Law on income tax for individuals.

A number of other reports by various Sejm committees are expected to be heard as well.

Also, a deputies' draft on amending the Constitution of the Republic of Poland is scheduled to receive its first reading during the coming session.

Democratic Union Council Alters Form, Personnel

LD1512210290 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Report by (Adam Zubko)]

[Text] The Council of the Democratic Union held a meeting today in the hall of Warsaw University's Senate. Present was Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the chairman of the union. During the meeting a decision was adopted to transform the council into the National Founding Committee of the Democratic Union. The presidium of the founding committee was nominated, as was the secretary.

Members of the presidium include: Chairman, Tadeusz Mazowiecki; General Secretary, Piotr Nowina-Konopka; two representatives of the Citizens Movement-Democratic Action [ROAD], Wladyslaw Frasyniuk and Henryk Wujec; and two vacant seats in the presidium for representatives of the Democratic Right Forum. Their names will be made public after the second round of the congress on 16 December. Deputies Jozef Kowalczyk from Szczecin, Jan Wyrowinski from Torun, and Mr. Kazimierz Kobialko from Opole are also included in the presidium.

A program commission was set up composed up of 22 people and chaired by Deputy Jan-Maria Rokita. A Statute Commission is being chaired by Jacek Taylor.

A resolution was adopted which reads: In connection with the resignation of the government led by Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the National Founding Committee of the Democratic Union declares that this government played an historic part in the process of leading Poland out of the totalitarian system toward a democratic system and a market economy. The Founding Committee of the Democratic Union conveys expressions of thanks to Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki for his work for the homeland in this period which was uncommonly difficult and important.

During a new conference which ended a few minutes ago, Tadeusz Mazowiecki spoke about transforming his

electoral committees into union committees to create a political camp based on values, which would make it possible to aim for an open, democratic, and tolerant Poland. Should the union find itself in opposition—and in the opinion of Tadeusz Mazowiecki everything points that way—then it will not be a destructive opposition.

The union will take part in the parliamentary elections. It, however, has no aspirations to enter the composition of the new government. It means to assess the candidates that are being proposed.

Democratic Right Calls for Mazowiecki-Led Grouping

LD1612220690 Warsaw PAP in English 2111 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 16—The Forum of Democratic Right [FPD] held the second part of its congress here today which was the continuation of the previous meeting held in Katowice last November. The congress dealt with the forum's tasks for the coming months.

The adopted declaration reads, among other things:

"The Forum of Democratic Right declares the readiness to take part in the creation of the Democratic Union retaining its own organizational structures as well as political and ideological identity. The Democratic Union should build an electoral plane grouping, under Tadeusz Mazoweicki's leadership, a possibly widest electorate for parliamentary elections.

"The congress of the Forum of Democratic Right authorized Aleksandr Hall, chairman of the Forum, and Michal Wojtczak, to represent the Forum in the Presidium of the Democratic Union."

Christian Faction Establishes Democratic Party

LD1612181590 Warsaw PAP in English 1708 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 16 - Representatives of the Christian-Democratic Labour Party (CHDSP) from all Poland who met here yesterday voiced their critical opinion about the policy of the CHDSP main board directed against Lech Walesa and separating the CHDSP from other Christian Democratic parties and organizations.

The meeting decided to quit the CHDSP and establish a Christian-Democratic Party linked with the Centre Alliance.

The party's founding declaration was signed by 127 people. The meeting appointed the party's secretariat and political council.

Working People's Movement Holds Founding Congress

LD1612221790 Warsaw PAP in English 1959 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 16—A founding congress of the Working People's Movement (RLP) held its debates here today.

"It is up to us what organizational frames and what statutes the movement will have," said chairwoman of the RLP Coordinating Council Ewa Spychalska.

"During a discussion its participants spoke about three solutions. The movement might continue to operate as a broad formula of socio-political discussion or as an association. There were also opinions that when the right was organizing itself the left should have all colours of a rainbow and that time had come to establish a party," she went on.

At the end of its debates, the congress decided by a majority of votes the RLP would continue to operate as a broadly perceived socio-political movement.

The congress adopted the statutes under which the RLP was a platform of political activity of working people. The RLP aim is to immediately influence the state policy in tune with the social and economic interest of working people. The movement is open to cooperation with all forces of the left.

Participants in the congress decided that national assembly of delegates would be the supreme authority of the movement. In the meantime this function will be performed by the national council. National Trade Union confederation leader Afred Miodowicz was appointed one of the council's members. The council will elect its presidium and chairman till the end of January 1991.

Kuron Interviewed on Future of Polish Politics

AU1412170090 Warsaw PAP in English 1240 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Interview with Minister of Labor and Social Policy Jacek Kuron by unidentified reporter; place and date not given]

[Text] Warsaw, 11 December (PAP)—Jacek Kuron's interview for GAZETA WYBORCZA.

"I took part in the formation of the government's policies and I was trying to put it into effect as well as I could. On 25 November 1990, I received a vote of no-confidence and now I have to step down," said Minister of Labour and Social Policy Jacek Kuron in his interview for GAZETA WYBORCZA.

"People living in the West know that they cannot buy everything that is displayed in the shops. But we in Poland cannot accept such a thing. The fact that in the shop there is something and I cannot afford to buy is regarded by us as a challenge, provocation, meanness, and a scandalous state of affairs. And this is enough to say "no" to the government.

"Many candidates for president made promises which they could not hope to fulfil, anyway. Although only one of the candidates has been elected, all these promises remain in society's consciousness. Walesa can now choose. Either he begins to give in, which would be a

catastrophe (which I think he will not do), or to shut himself off in the Belvedere Palace and say: 'It is the government that rules.'

"Whoever Walesa may appoint as prime minister, that person will have to play the role of a Balcerowicz. This means that he will have to defend the budget against deficit and the currency against inflation.

"We were pursuing a government policy which even Walesa never doubted was the right one. And he subsequently destroyed it from the inside. I do not envy the new government, but the role of a sensible opposition will also be very difficult. I am afraid that in the upcoming general parliamentary elections, nobody will win. The parliament will be unable to form a majority and is destined to come into conflict with the president. In my opinion, this means yet another parliamentary election in a year's time or in 18 month's time.

"Our society lived through the years 1980 and 1981 and found itself that printing empty money only leads to empty shelves. Here is the secret of our year of peace. But this year is over and there must be something to show for it. I kept repeating from the very beginning that we would need 10 years and would only succeed if we all work very hard together. The problem is that Polish society is living in dreamland and society will not wake up from this dream by the time the next parliamentary elections come round.

"When we were starting out, we had social backing for the policy of self denial and perseverance. Walesa won by making political capital out of the fact that this policy lost support and became unpopular. I fear that consent for such another such policy will not be easily secured again.

"We can also speculate that the new president will rapidly raise the salaries in the police service and the Armed Forces, but we shall no longer be learning to live in a democracy but in a market economy. Jaruzelski has already tried this approach, namely, an economy with moderate commodity availability protected by tanks. We know the results this produced.

"I think that sooner or later 'Solidarity' will be taken away in tumbrels, because it did not fulfil its promises. It does not really matter whether Walesa made any promises or not. The people only heard the promises that were made. Activists of the 'Solidarity' committees who supported him, will either have to put themselves at the head of a pay-claims drive, or be kicked out and split the trade union," said Kuron.

Mass Media Urged To Cooperate With State

LD1312070390 Warsaw PAP in English 2337 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 12—Government spokeswoman Malgorzata Niezabitowska appeared on TV this evening and spoke about the information policy of the government.

She said that fifteen months ago they were given the system derived from the totalitarian state. The Mazowiecki government created the bases for a new information order: The government gave up its control over mass media. Censorship has been lifted, the workers publishing house has been liquidated, and the monopoly of radio and TV broken.

She said that there were some 500 news conferences in government's press office and other central bodies over the past 15 months. Moreover, 6,000 different statements and communiques were issued.

It is a domain of the government to give information, she said, but the government cannot process information. This is the task of the mass media. The government programme was very difficult and journalists were not competent enough. The nation was not able to comprehend those messages either. Also, many journalists wanted to become credible through sharp criticism of the government. I am not against criticism but we believed that cooperation with the mass media would be better. This concerns in particular television which was the main propaganda machinery in the totalitarian system and now it is doing everything to become credible, Niezabitowska said.

Army Official Explains Deployment of Troops

LD1612225990 Warsaw PAP in English 2057 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 16—In connection with plans to deploy part of the Polish Army from West to East of the country, First Deputy of the General Staff's Chief, General Franciszek Puchala told PAP that about 40 percent of Polish Armed Forces are now stationed in Western, 35 percent in Central, and 25 in Eastern parts of Poland.

An excess concentration on some direction or area may cause fears, while nobody is threatened with a regular deployment throughout the entire territory. The main task of our armed forces is to guarantee territorial integrity, independence, and sovereignty of this nation. This involves division of Polish territory into four military districts.

The doctrine envisages being prepared for fending off every possible aggression coming from any direction. This requires a more regular deployment of the forces and making reserves, tactical alliances, quick-reaction divisions, and formation of regional defence.

The Army's task is to counteract potential aggression, while the protection of borders belongs to the now-organized border guard supervised by the Internal Ministry and supported by the Army, when necessary. Hence, the Army's ability to relocate would be used but the even deployment of troops would also be beneficial in handling such a task.

Defense Minister Against Sending Units to Gulf

LD1412224390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] In light of rumors that Poland might send a combat unit to the Persian Gulf region, Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk has declared that he is against dispatching any unit outside Poland's borders. He stated that two Polish ships will sail to the Persian Gulf under the banner of the Red Cross—the Maltese Cross [as heard]—with humanitarian (?aid) for those in need.

2d Round of Soviet Troop Withdrawal Talks Ends

LD1212204890 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] The second round of Polish-Soviet talks on the subject of withdrawing Soviet troops from Polish territory has ended.

[Begin recording] [Wladyslaw Plaszynski, head of the Foreign Ministry's Press and Information Department] The talks took place on a specialist level. The subject was not the date of withdrawl of Soviet troops from Poland. Since this issue was raised by Poland, we want Soviet troops to leave our country by the end of next year, and we await a reply at an appropriately high level. The treaty on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland has in effect been agreed, [words indistinct] agreement on certain formulae. There is one fundamental issue. This operation must be paid for by the Soviet side. We do not know what the level of payments will be, since we do not yet know the number of tranports: how many lorries and what type.

[Reporter] Will the Polish side have any control whatsoever over transports which will be leaving from here?

[Plaszynski] The whole operation will take place under the control both of the Army and the militia. [as heard] Customs services will also be included within this control, since we must be certain that what is being transported across Poland does not endanger her citizens. Part of the cargo, especially [word indistinct] dangerous ones, will most certainly be transported by sea. This is an exceptionally difficult and complicated operation, particularly the transit operation. Regarding the withdrawals, this involves not more than around 50,000 people. [end recording]

Partial Agreement Reached

LD1612201190 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1830 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Excerpts] Two days of Polish-Soviet negotiations on the transit of Soviet troops returning from Germany have taken place in Warsaw. The next round of talks will take place in Moscow in January. [passage omitted]

The Soviet side has proposed that military trains use four [figure as heard] routes: Gumience-Braniewo; Kostrzyn-Skadawa: (Kunowice-Czermcha i Zasieki)-Dorohusk. Poland has accepted this proposal. [passage omitted] We can expect the passage of hundreds of convoys of heavy military vehicles. Such a convoy can be up to seven kilometers long and moves very slowly. Soviet authorities have proposed two routes: the northern one, i.e.: Kolbaskowo-Szczecin-Elbag-Kaliningrad Oblast, and the southern one, i.e., Olszyny through Lower Silesia and Lublin Voivodship to Dorohusk. Poland has agreed to the northern route only, and the Soviet side has noted this. We don't yet know which part of the Soviet Army withdrawn from Germany will be transported by air or sea. It, however, has already been established that all dangerous cargo will only be transported by sea, beyond our territorial waters. [passage omitted]

Visa-Free Travel for Germans as of 1 Jan

AU1312130890 Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Dec 90 p 1

[Text] Warsaw—As of 1 January all German citizens may go to Poland without visas for a maximum of three months. This was announced by the Warsaw Foreign Ministry on Monday evening [10 December]. Until the end of the year this regulation applies only to former GDR citizens.

With its current decision, the Polish Foreign Ministry proceeds from the premise that the German Government will lift compulsory visas for Poles by the turn of the year, as it has announced previously, a statement says. The new Polish decision is considered to be an act of goodwill.

Joint Relations With New Germany Discussed

PM1312151490 Szczecin GLOS SZCZECINSKI in Polish 3 Dec 90 p 3

[Interview with Dr. Andrzej Sakson of the Independent National Group for Sociological Studies of Indigenous Population by Elzbieta Karasiewicz; place and date not given: "Long Cry From Conciliation"]

[Text] [Karasiewicz] The subject of your latest research project was the attitude of the population of our Western borderland territories to German unification, was it not?

[Sakson] The Polish public's reactions to this event varied widely. In the initial period, from 9 November 1989—that is, the date the Berlin Wall was opened—to the end of August this year, when the tenets of the Two-Plus-Four Treaty were officially formulated, the most clearly dominant feelings were apprehension, fear, and dread.

[Karasiewicz] Can we assume that there were differences in the attitudes shown by the inhabitants of Western and Central Poland?

[Sakson] Polish society as a whole regarded German unification with anxious concern and close interest. Also with satisfaction: After all, it was the fall of Honecker's regime, and Honecker was the leader who had most

determinedly criticized the reforms taking place in Poland. In the territories which until 1945 belonged to Germany, the situation was somehow different, for several reasons. There was the still unresolved question of the state border and the Polish status of these territories. Nor were these questions clearly resolved in Chancellor Kohl's 10-point unification program. Consequently, the local population, and especially members of the older generation relocated there from the Eastern territories, felt considerable apprehension and fear lest these regions become once again the subject of negotiations and lest the Germans return to them again.

A different situation evolved in the "border strip" area in the Szczecin, Gorzow, and Zielona Gora Voivodships. Here we had all kinds of local conflicts and clashes resulting from, among other things, the fact that while on the one hand Germans were free to enter Polish territory, on the other hand Poles who found themselves in the GDR served as a focus for manifestations of anti-Polish phobia. Altogether astonishing developments evolved as a consequence of German unification in the region of Silesia, where the indigenous Silesian population declared in favor of German nationality. Whereas statistics once asserted that there were 4,000-5,000 Germans in Poland, today there are 300,000. The emergence of many of these facts had to be viewed against Chancellor Kohl's failure to recognize the border. This is why Jaruzelski's visit to Siekierki became, as it were, a symbolic demonstration of the region's Polish character.

Let me stress, however, that the feeling of anxiety was strongest among the older generation: among those who personally experienced the trauma of being resettled from their native regions. Later, when the Germans unequivocally declared that they recognized the border, the new political situation allayed their fears to a certain extent.

[Karasiewicz] On the other hand, the younger generation has never experienced similar fears, has it? It would even seem that the presence of an affluent state in our immediate neighborhood stimulated the younger people's hopes and expectations.

[Sakson] The advantages following from such neighborhood were emphasized by such developments as the founding of the Western Parishes League in Zielona Gora or the setting up—within the framework of the Polish-West German treaty—of the Regional Cooperation Group, as well as the series of cooperation initiatives between neighboring German lander and Polish voivodships on the respective sides of the border. In addition, people realized that there are also more tangible advantages in trading directly in the street markets organized near Szczecin and in Zgorzelec. From the viewpoint of social psychology, this represents a kind of counter-reaction: Poles were always regarded as second-class citizens in Germany, but suddenly they find that it is nobody but the Germans themselves who are eager to cross the border to come to trade here after the GDR economy collapsed in the wake of German monetary union.

[Karasiewicz] We now have the border treaty, but a genuine German-Polish reconciliation is still a distant prospect, is it not?

[Sakson] The varied course of our relations throughout the historical past shared by our two nations includes many wrongs and has created many negative stereotypes in our mutual reactions and attitudes. A new political task for both sides—for their mass media and opinion-forming milieus—will be to create a new climate for our mutual relations which can allow us to gradually eliminate barriers and alleviate tensions wherever they occur. And they will occur most frequently in Silesia, since that is where the German minority is concentrated.

[Karasiewicz] Precisely. It is a large and internally divided minority—divided also on matters which still invoke many fears among Poles.

[Sakson] The leaders of the German minority, Johann Kroll and Dietmar Brehmer—who heads the German Working Community "Reconciliation and Future"—represent diametrically opposed options regarding their attitude to Poland or to the Odra-Nysa [Oder-Neisse] border. The establishment of German-Polish reconciliation requires that we overcome our former negative and mutually hostile attitudes. This is an indispensable condition and prerequisite of ensuring that our economic situation does not deteriorate any further—lest we become the pariahs of Europe, and all talk about reconciliation or interregional cooperation becomes completely pointless. In my opinion there is no doubt that Germany can and will assume the role of a sponsor in Poland's accession to Europe. Without them, we will not be able to join the EEC or the Council of Europe.

Nationwide Strikes Continue; Developments Reported

FSN Students Reject Call to General Strike

AU1612134490 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 9 Dec 90 p 1

["Communique" by the Students' Organization of the National Salvation Front on calls for students' general strike; place and date not given]

[Text] Communique

The Students' Organization of the National Salvation Front [FSN] took note with concern of the calls for a general strike launched by the Bucharest Students' Convention and the Committee for the Restructuring of the Students' Free Trade Union of the Bucharest Polytechnic Institute. In view of the fact that the Students' League had already organized such an action at the start of this year, we raise the question: Who stands to benefit from a new interruption of the educational process, especially when everybody knows that the exam session begins a month from now?

Given the ultimatum-like demand for the resignation of the president, government, and Parliament, the strike acquires a true political and destabilizing character.

We believe that the call to strike launched by organizations that claim to speak on behalf of the students is part of a group of actions aimed at the country's destabilization, undertaken by forces which have constantly wanted this to happen.

We call on all Romanian students to show lucidity and balance and to ignore such incitement, because we must all realize that Romanian society is faced with important problems which cannot be solved by strikes and street actions. As far as we are concerned, you will find us, and not only us, in the lecture halls.

The FSN Students' Organization

Iliescu Ready To Meet Civic Alliance Leaders

AU1412202690 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Romania's president has recently had a number of meetings at Cotroceni Palace with representatives of political parties, trade unions, and other organizations to solve the problems currently facing our country. In this respect, the presidential press bureau announces that, in accordance with the desire expressed on 13 December 1990 by the Civic Alliance founding members, the president is ready to conduct a dialogue with the newly elected leadership of this organization. The date and exact hour of such a meeting will be fixed by joint agreement.

The communique of the press bureau of the Romanian Presidency says: We consider that the meeting should facilitate an efficient and constructive exchange of opinions on the state of tension in Romanian society; on the causes that have led to the worsening of the social climate; and on the need to contribute, through joint efforts, to identifying ways and means conducive to alleviating the inherent hardships of the current period.

Munteanu Asks TU Workers To Support Strikes

AU1412203290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] The Bucharest Students' Convention held a news conference at the General Medicine Faculty in Bucharest. Mr. Marian Munteanu, president of the University Students' League, read a communique asking the trade unions of workers and other categories of employees to state their position regarding the students' general strike, which started on 11 December and has encompassed university centers in Bucharest, Cluj, Constanta, Timisoara, Craiova, Galati, and Iasi.

Mr. Marian Munteanu said that if no answer is received from the workers organizations by 19 December, then the striking students will consider that their action does not enjoy the approval of broad segments of the population.

Students' National Convention Communique

AU1512170090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2242 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 14/12/1990—Our organizations have nothing in common with the struggle for power, and we do not make appeals for strikes in enterprises, shows a communique of the Bucharest Students Convention presented at a news conference on Friday [14 December].

The convention's programme of claims was also read, which is structured by three chapters: official condemnation by Romania's Parliament of the Romanian Communist Party and the communist regime imposed through the force of arms by Stalin's soviet system, institution of a public opinion poll to set the responsibilities for the December 1989 reprisals, and urgent organization, under Parliament's decision, of a national referendum on the form of government and the country's constitution. The failure to solve such major problems of Romanian society must inevitably lead to the dissolution of the Parliament and the resignation of the president and the government, to early elections and the formation of a national unity government, the programme of claims also specifies.

The communique presented to the journalists shows that the students' strike which extended to 51 Bucharest faculties is taking place only inside the university building, that the convention's organizations take no part in street demonstrations and the students' strike does not affect the national economy. If we receive no answer of approval till December 19, 1990 from the Workers' Organizations, we shall consider our action as

being disapproved by the large categories of the population and, in that case, we shall propose the students' organizations throughout the country to suspend the strike and give up any form of protest, the abovementioned communique also shows.

Brasov Medical Workers Begin Strike 14 Dec

AU1512171790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0141 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 14/12/1990—"Medisan", the Union of the Sanitary Corps in Brasov County has called its members to general strike with effect from Friday, 14 December, 07:00 hours, giving assurances, in its communique, that emergencies will be duly covered and stating that theirs is an act of solidarity with the general strike of the "Sanitas", the national union of sanitary corps.

Antigovernment Rally in Timisoara 14 Dec

AU1512165990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2246 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 14/12/1990—Friday, December 14, political demonstrations continued in Timisoara. In the morning, groups of people from various enterprises participated in a march in the main streets of the town. The demonstrators carried banners and panels calling to a general strike. Antipresidential, antigovernmental and anticommunist slogans were chanted. In the afternoon groups of demonstrators gathered in the Victory (Opera) Square, where a rally was staged. The participants demanded the resignation of President Iliescu and the Government, and chanted anticommunist slogans.

Antigovernment Meeting Held in Iasi 14 Dec

AU1512165190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2348 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 14/12/1990—Friday [14 December] afternoon the hall of the National Theatre in Iasi was the venue of a symposium with the theme "Human Rights in Post-Revolutionary Romania" sponsored by "Agora" society and the Moldova branch of the Civic Alliance as well as by other organizations.

Concerted efforts were required for a genuine democracy, the elimination of the error of considering communism as legal, the firm undertaking by honest people within democratic organizations for a decent life in full freedom of conscience and expression.

While shouting anti-presidential and anti-governmental slogans, the attendance made afterwards for the institute of medicine and pharmacy where a meeting was held to commemorate the December 14, 1989 events in Iasi and to protest against the violation of human rights in Romania. When leaving the theatre hall and en route to the meeting place, the participants were met with disapproval by hundreds of persons who were not sharing their violence of language and ideas.

'Alfa' Cartel Holds Conference 14 Dec

AU1512165890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2248 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 14/12/1990—Friday, December 14, the National Conference of the "Alfa" cartel was held in Bucharest.

The agenda listed the statutes validation, the report of activity, the draft program and the adoption of the conference resolutions.

The draft program intends to establish the identity of this union confederation, "the way to be followed so that its almost two million members be offered more than hopes". The program states that, given the fact that the initial program of revigoration of the Romanian society as a whole continually alters its dimensions, the "Alfa" cartel asks for assistance by experts when collective contracts are concluded, for cuts in the number of employees to be based on economic criteria, a firm program for creating efficient industrial projects in a short lapse of time. The foreign capital must enter Romania only as a consequence of shares being bought from their owners or by investments and participation in joint ventures.

The "Alfa" cartel also asks the government to give it free access to the data referring to the budget, the balance of payments and the condition of the national economy.

Government-TU Commission Activity Noted

AU1512170190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2250 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 14/12/1990—The dialogue between the Government and the unions continued Friday, December 14, with talks on amendments to certain articles of the bill referring to the unemployment benefit and the professional integration of the unemployed.

Gheorghe Mitu, vice president of the National Free Unions Confederation told a ROMPRES journalist that "the debates taking place in the commission are constructive and denote responsibility, both parties showing their will to ensure the social security of all segments of society, retired people, youth, students, pupils included." The speaker added that divergencies also emerged, especially as concerns the lowest age at which unemployment benefits should be granted".

The work of the Joint Government-Unions Commission will continue in plenum and in sessions of relevant union federations and the respective economic departments.

Cluj Higher Education Institutes' Strike

AU1512175590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0955 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/12/1990—The Faculties of Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Biology-Geography, History-Philosophy and Letters of the University, the Veterinary Medicine School of the Agronomic Institute, the Polytechnic, the University of Medicine and Pharmacy, the Fine Arts Institute, the "Gh.Diva" Music Academy and the Theological Institute of Cluj-Napoca went on strike on December 11, thus supporting a decision made by the National Students' Convention in Timisoara (December 5-9, 1990), and showing their solidarity with the other university centers in the country.

The strike is organized by the Student Convention of Cluj-Napoca.

The students of the Departments of Stomatology, Philology and Mathematics-Physics of the University of Constanta went on a general strike starting December 13.

Timisoara Rallies Peaceful; 'No Army Echelons'

AU1512171890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0138 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 14/12/1990—The ROMPRES correspondent at Timisoara informs that the demonstrations there are peaceful, free of incidents. No special order forces or Army echelons have been reported on site. This particular aspect was stressed following telephone-calls to Timisoara from persons in various parts of the country apprehensive of the situation in the city.

Presidential Resignation Demanded

AU1512203990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1919 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/12/1990—Groups of demonstrators gathered in Timisoara's Opera Square on an intense sleet at noon. Yesterday they also were there. The crowd was addressed by several demonstrators from the Opera building balcony to set forth political claims and to demand a general strike. They also demanded the resignation of the country's president and government.

Student-Teachers Movement Protests Strikes

AU1512171690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0145 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 14/12/1990—Friday, December 14 on the initiative of a group of students and academic staff, the Democratic Students and Teaching Staff Movement of Romania was created in Cluj-Napoca.

The group of initiative sent to the ROMPRES correspondent to Cluj-Napoca an appeal to be released, which disavows the strong tendencies of politicizing education by staging strikes with a marked political character, intending an attempted coup, the abusive blocking of faculties entrance doors by groups of people who want to disturb the educational process, the staging of destabilizing political actions in schools. The appeal calls the students and academic staff in the country, to create a Democratic Movement of the Students and Teaching Staff of Romania and asks for measures to be taken against those who make use of force and intimidation to impose their political opinions in faculties.

Mayor, Ministers, Union Leaders Hold Talks

AU1512171590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0147 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 14/12/1990—An interview took place at the Home Trade Department Friday, December 14, between the capital city's mayor general, Mr. Nicolae Viorel Oproiu, the minister of trade and tourism, Constantin Fotea, secretary of state Cornel Ceuca of the Home Trade Department, Deputy Mayor Catalin Iorgulescu, leaders of Commerce Union Federations and managers of commercial companies.

The interview was held following the discontent of the workers in this economic sector with the way in which privatization is applied to commerce and with the immixture [as received] of mayors and other forums in distributing the spaces for privatization.

The chief questions approached on the occasion were related to shopping areas, supply, price negotiation and the deficiencies in trade.

The trade workers' representatives learned about the two draft resolutions submitted to the government with a view to solving suchlike problems.

The TU leaders participant in the interview stated that, if the said state of affairs were not settled, strike might be staged.

Iliescu Interviewed on Issue of Strikes

AU1512175490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1344 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/12/1990—In an interview granted to ADEVARUL on December 12, which the Bucharest newspaper puts out in its December 15 issue, President Ion Iliescu referred to the strikes in Romania in the last few days considering that "there are two planes on which they unfold. There are objective sources of discontent, but then, there are also attempts at concerting claims motivated by broader political actions against legal institutions, the government and even the Parliament. An example in this respect is the call of the Student Convention in Timisoara, which includes purely political claims that have nothing to do with the student movement and the objective of a movement of this type. It is an attempt at exerting pressure on legal bodies, an attempt at changing power by undemocratic means, through street pressure."

Asked in that context about possibilities of a new show of force, the president said he had the feeling "a better coordination, a better reunion of forces is being experimented."

Pointing out that "we have serious difficulties" and that "no matter the structure and the composition of power, no one could avoid such difficulties," he said that "there should be a sense of civic solidarity, of patriotic solidarity. Even the opposition forces should show solidarity with the efforts those who assumed political power in such a difficult period make."

At the same time, he said he had always pinned his hopes on the possibility of a constructive dialogue and welcomed the positive elements have emerged in the dialogue with the political forces represented to Parliament. "As a matter of fact ," the president said, "we inaugurated a system of periodical meetings and I had the impression both sides were satisfied".

In another string of ideas, the Romanian head of state showed analyses were being made to alleviate tendencies to an exaggerated rise in prices and that solutions were being looked for to subsidize basic foodstuffs and spending on energy, rents, subscriptions for public transport and other requirements of the population. The prices maintained through state subventions will be subsidized in the months ahead, too.

Referring to the current political viability of the National Salvation Front, President Iliescu said that grouping had a great disadvantage. "It is a political grouping that bears all responsibility for the political administration of a country that is confronted by an economic crisis and by ineluctable difficulties.

The groupings in the opposition have only to gain from the difficulties the cabinet is encountering, it seems to me that to disturb that cabinet, which was formed with great difficulty, would be tantamount to a disturbance in the process of economic and political development that we started."

Roman Views Progress of Reform Programs

AU1612151690 Paris AFP in English 0713 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Report on interview with Prime Minister Petre Roman by unidentified reporter in Bucharest; date not given]

[Text] Timisoara, Romania, Dec 16 (AFP)—A year after protests here led to the downfall of the 22-year-old dictatorship of Nicolae Ceausescu, this city is defiantly demanding the removal of his successor, Ion Iliescu.

The banners reading "Down with communism" and "Down with Iliescu," displayed at a university whose 30,000 students have been on strike for nearly a week, is an apt metaphor for a country where new political liberties have led only to economic and political crisis and popular discontent. It was on December 15 last year that marchers here dared call out loud for Mr. Ceausescu's ouster. Army and police forces fired on them, killing 147 and injuring more than 400 and triggering protests that snowballed into Mr. Ceausescu's hurried execution by a tribunal.

On Saturday, on the Opera Square where the worst violence erupted, a thousand workers gathered to give their support to the striking students in this city of 400,000 tucked near the Yugoslav and Hungarian borders. The students' strike has affected universities throughout this country of 23 million people, and on Thursday, workers in the city's major state enterprises also walked off their jobs. The striking students and workers will make a commemoration planned for Sunday a time for further protest, not self-congratulation, many students here say.

The anniversary comes at a time the common evil of former East Bloc countries—a breakdown in the state-run economy unmatched by improvements in the nascent private sector -has brought on widespread shortages in food and consumer goods. The government's bloody repression of demonstrations last June has also seriously tarnished its image. But in an interview in Bucharest with AFP, Petre Roman, who has been prime minister since the start of the insurrection a year ago, sounded a self-congratulatory note.

Given, he said, the distortions of the inherited economy, "the reform was elaborated, initiated and carried out clearly, neatly and uncompromisingly." The result of these reforms, he insisted, was "without contest positive." However, Western analysts in Bucharest offer a strikingly contrasting view. The word heard most often to describe the Romanian economy, which alone among East Bloc countries had reimbursed its 10-billion-dollar foreign debt by 1989, is "catastrophic."

In the past year, the trade deficit has soared to an estimated 1.2 billion dollars, in addition to a billion unconvertible rubles in deficit with the other socialist nations, said Napoleon Pop, the minister for foreign trade [title as received].

The tripling of Romania's oil bill paired with cutbacks in deliveries of cut-price Soviet crude contributed sharply to the crisis, economic analysts say. Industrial production is down by 20 per cent and unemployment has soared. A 75-per-cent devaluation of the national currency, the lei, led to the doubling and tripling of some consumer prices.

Public anger forced the government to delay plans to deregulate the price of basic foods on January 1. As a result of these difficulties, Romania has requested foreign aid with increasing urgency, but its bloody repression of last June's demonstrations led the European Community to delay until last September the signature of a first aid agreement.

Because of the repression, Romania remains, with Albania, the only East Bloc country barred from receiving aid from the group of 24 industrialized nations known as the G-24, which has criticized Romania's political and economic reforms as far less advanced than those of other socialist countries. The economic reforms have been met by widespread strikes. Unions are

demanding pay increases to match price hikes and guarantees for the workers in enterprises headed for privatization.

Summation of Iasi Students' Strike

AU1612170490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1449 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 16/12/1990—The Information Students' Association in Iasi, a legally constituted organization of the trade union kind, has conveyed a communique to the ROMPRES correspondent in Iasi, clearly stating the decision not to participate in the political strike started at the Alexandru I. Cuza University .

As for the strike at the Iasi University, the situation is as follows: courses and seminars continue at the faculties of economic sciences, mathematics, biology, law and, partly, even history where the bending for the strike had been the most obvious at the beginning. The claim posters glued in conspicuous places have vanished, and so have the strike pickets at the main entrance of the university. At the Ion Ionescu de la Brad Institute of Agronomy, the training process has not been broken at all, and at the G. Asachi Polytechnic, which has the largest number of students in the Iasi University Center, the strike has a marginal character, with most of the students minding their courses and learning.

Craiova Students Demand Government Resignation

AU1712125790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1149 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 17/12/1990—The students of Craiova's Philology, Automation Engineering, Medicine and Agronomy Faculties are on strike, those of Horticulture, Electrical Engineering and Electro-Mechanical Engineering on partial strike. The number of the students who joined in this kind of strike by putting their names on a list is of 1,500, about a quarter of those attending the day courses of Craiova's faculties.

The strikers adopted a proclamation asking, inter alia, for President Iliescu and the government to resign immediately, a government of national union to be formed that should hold early elections, the mandate of certain parliamentarians to be invalidated, the generals and military staff involved in the repression of the December '89 revolution to be dismissed.

Summation of Craiova Students' Strike

AU1612170090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1523 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 16/12/1990—Of the 76 teaching cadres of the Craiova Faculty of Economics, 68 have decided to continue the teaching activity according to the schedule, not to support and not to participate in political actions, observing their professional statute, to respect the students' political options and manifestations, in the context of flat separation of the political and professional activities, to disjoin themselves now and in future from any political actions in the faculty.

Other reports from the Craiova University: at the Faculty of Sciences (with Department of Mathematics Physics, Data Processing, Chemistry, Biology, and Physical education), of the 850 students 400 attended the meeting that decided the starting of the strike by open vote. Ninety percent of the students present there opted for general strike and 70 percent declared their solidarity with the student in Timisoara, Bucharest, and other University Centers.

Demonstrators Throw Stones, Bottles 16 Dec

AU1612203890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1916 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 16/12/1990—Several hundreds of citizens blocked the traffic both ways and from all directions in the important traffic point of the University Square, on Sunday evening. The demonstrators shouted antipresidential and antigovernment, anticommunist and antitotalitarian slogans, demanding at the same time the formation of a government of national unity and the application of efficient measures of social protection. The traffic was blocked there for about an hour. Police intervened and freed the way. The demonstrators withdrew to nearby streets. In that action, in order to deter the police, the demonstrators threw stones and bottles.

Protesters Call For Government's Resignation

AU1712114290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1015 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 17/12/1990—The burning of several copies of issue 28 of the magazine "ROMANIA MARE" marked the beginning of the commemorative meeting organized by Cluj-Napoca democratic forum, whose motto was "Honor to Timisoara". A few hundreds of demonstrators gathered in front of Matei Corvin's statue, carrying a tricolour and a big red "Down with communism" placard. A number of people voiced at the megaphone their discontent with the current political and economic situation of Romania, asked for President Iliescu and Prime minister Roman to resign, the Parliament to dissolve, a government of national union to be formed, and new elections to be held. Anticommunist, antipresidential and antigovernmental slogans were chanted. "The Hooligans Hymn" (the hymn of the demonstrators in Bucharest' University Square before the May elections) was sung, and leaflets were spread calling to a general strike. Under the police protection, the demonstrators chanting the same slogans marched along the streets of Cluj central area. No incidents were reported.

Radio-TV TU: 'Catwalk Strike' 17 Dec

AU1712113690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1041 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 17/12/1990—The Executive Office of the Free Union of the Romanian Radio

Television has decided a catwalk strike [doing minimum obligatory amount] to start on December 17, 1990 at eight o'clock. The press release mentions that the Romanian Radio Television Free Union hopes this protest action will sensitize the executives of the Romanian Television and the bodies of state power and administration enough to avert the escalation of the conflict.

It is also mentioned that Dumitru Iuga, chairman of the Romanian Radio Television Free Union continues his hunger strike in the terms announced in his latest statement.

Preparations Underway for Revolution Anniversary

Parliament Issues Proclamation 13 Dec

AU1412175290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2217 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 13/12/1990—It is but natural and necessary that on the eve of the revolution anniversary we should be prepared to celebrate the great events in peace and quiet, reads the proclamation endorsed by Romania's Parliament on December 13. We demand the government to endorse, based on a sincere and efficient dialogue, decisions for the wise settlement of the legitimate claims, and take steps, in keeping with the law, with the exigencies of observance of human dignity and civic rights, to the end of securing order and calm in the country which the Romanian people wants so much.

The first Parliament of new Romania urges your soul and conscience not to forget for a moment the heroes who, by their supreme sacrifice, made a decisive contribution to the country's liberation and resurrection. Let us be proud, dignified and ennobled by their fight and sacrifice. On the Christian holidays redeemed by the December revolution, we wish you Merry Christmas a Happy New Year, the proclamation concludes.

FSN Issues Appeal for 'Reconciliation'

AU1412154390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0944 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 14/12/1990—The National Salvation Front [FSN], the "Declaration to the Country" by FSN's Cluj County Council reads, considers that "on revolution day we must weigh on a wise balance the whole year 1990's evolution and put ourselves to triai silently, without tension and threats, without rigidity or aggressiveness. In that spirit, the declaration adds, we appeal to our fellow citizens to achieve reconciliation and reach inner equilibrium, which is so much needed by the individual and the country as a whole. Such self-judgment may lead each of us to us all. Let us spend Christmas in our common home. In the peace of Christmas Day we shall realize that us is something deeper than ourselves."

FSN Symposium on Revolution Anniversary in Cluj

AU1612170190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1523 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 16/12/1990—The National Salvation Front [FSN] sponsored a symposium marking one year since the December 1989 Revolution, in Cluj-Napoca, on December 15. The participants included representatives of the FSN organizations of the counties of Alba, Bihor, Bistrita-Nasaud, Brasov, Cluj, Harghita, Hunedoara, Mures, Satu Mare and Sibiu.

Present were also Claudiu Iordache, first deputy chairman of the FSN Steering Collegium, Adrian Severin, minister of state for reform and relations with the Parliament, Ionel Roman, deputy speaker of the House of Deputies, and Ion Oancea, chairman of the FSN Parliamentary Group for Transylvania.

A consultative meeting behind closed doors of the representatives of the FSN organizations of the above counties, took place on the occasion. The draft principles for the FSN platform was presented there, a declaration of principles and an appeal to the country on the first anniversary of the December 1989 revolution were endorsed.

Iliescu Attends Commemoration Ceremony

AU1512175790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1116 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/12/1990—A commemorative altar dedicated to the heroic military of the Military Academy in Bucharest who died in the December revolution was unveiled inside that higher-learning institution on Saturday morning in the presence of the country's president, Mr.Ion Iliescu, of leaders of political parties, senators and deputies.

Timis County Prefect Views Celebrations

AU1612180490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1656 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 16/12/1990—In marking one year since the victory of the December 1989 revolution, the Timis County Prefect's Office has issued several decisions with regard to the celebration of the victory and the commemoration of the victims of last December's bloody fighting. Monday, December 17, 1990, was proclaimed mourning day all over Timis County. On that day, all state institutions and the economic enterprises shall fly half-mast flags. The local radio and television stations, as well as the show and entertainment institutions shall correspondingly adjust their programs. On December 20, 1990, at 13:00 hrs [1100 GMT], a minute's silence shall be observed in Timis County to the memory of those who died for the victory of the December 1989 revolution, churches across the county shall toll he bells and the sirens shall sound. The national flag shall be hoisted all over Timis County. The decisions are signed by Florentin Carpanu, county prefect, and Constantin G.Popa, secretary of the Prefect's Office.

Revolution Anniversary Commemoration Begins

AU1612163490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Text] Today, 16 December 1990, festivities commemorating the first anniversary of the December Revolution began in Timisoara.

In the morning, at 1000 [0800 GMT] a commemorative march took place. This march reconstructed that of the evening of 16 December 1989 and thousands of citizens from Timisoara and Timis County participated.

At this hour columns are gathering in Revolution Square where a rally in homage of those who died will begin. Among the speakers are representatives of the 17 December Association, the Association of Former Political Detainees, participants in the revolution of Victoria Society, the Revolution Forum, and the National Foundation of the December 1989 Revolution. The Fraternitatea Society, the "Tot Banatu's Fruncea," the Student League, and the Democratic Antitotalitarian Forum of Timisoara will also attend the rally.

At 1900 [1700 GMT] the representative of the Civic Alliance will read the Charter of the Civic Alliance in Romania and the proposals of a social, political, and economic nature of the Timisoara Civic Alliance. At 2400 [2200 GMT] the night watch will begin in the Revolution Square.

The commemorative rallies will take place every day between 16-22 December 1990.

Rally Held in Timisoara 16 Dec

AU1612163690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1443 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 16/12/1990—A rally started in the Revolution Square in Timisoara on Sunday, December 16, 1990, at 13:00 hrs [1100 GMT], in marking one year since the start in that city of the events that led to the overthrow of the dictatorship and the beginning of the process of the country's democratization.

In his opening address, Traian Florea, chairman of the Fraternitatea Trade Union announced that 34 political and apolitical organizations as well as the territorial barracks and the cults contributed to the program of activities meant to mark in Timisoara one year since the Romanian Revolution. Everything was arranged together with the Prefect's Office and the Police of Timis County, the speaker said, inviting the thousands of participants in the rally to ensure order and discipline, to avoid any act of a nature to disgrace or change the meaning of that wide-scale action.

Timisoara Rally Continues; Speeches Given

AU1612203990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1912 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 16/12/1990—A big rally was organized in the Revolution Square in Timisoara on Sunday, December 16, 1990, in marking one year since the start in that city of the events that led to the overthrow of the dictatorship and the beginning of the process of the country's democratization.

In his opening address, Traian Florea, chairman of the Fraternitatea Trade Union announced that 34 political and apolitical organizations as well as the territorial barracks and the cults contributed to the program of activities meant to mark in Timisoara one year since the Romanian revolution. Everything was arranged together with the Prefect's Office and the police of Timis County, the speaker said, inviting the thousands of participants in the rally to ensure order and discipline, to avoid any act of a nature to disgrace or change the meaning of that wide-scale action.

Addresses were made during the rally by representatives of associations, organizations and political parties, including: the December 17 Association, the Revolution Forum, the Democratic Antitotalitarian Forum, the Civic Alliance, the Christian Democratic National Peasant Party, the National Liberal Party, the Romanian Revolutionary Party, the Free Republican Party, the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania.

The speakers evoked the courage and staunchness of those who sacrificed their lives for the triumph of the December 1989 revolution. Criticism was leveled at the presidential institution, at the Parliament and government and their resignation was demanded as well as the formation of a government of national coalition.

The participants in the rally shouted slogans against communism, against the country's president and government.

At the time of our newscast the rally continues.

Iliescu Sends Message to Timisoara Citizens

AU1612211590 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 16 Dec 90

["Message by Romanian President Ion Iliescu to Timisoara Citizens" on 16 December 1990—live or recorded]

[Text] It is one year today since the event, which in a few days was to become the Romanian Revolution, started in the hot streets and squares of Timisoara.

It is a duty to our consciences to put aside any trouble still existing in our society and above partisan options, to meet, all of us, the sons and daughters of this country, of all ages and all beliefs, in the same thought—maybe the only thought we all share—a thought of gratitude for the martyrs of Timisoara and of the whole of Romania.

It is to their sacrifices that we owe our freedom and dignity which we regained in the tragic and magnificent December of 1989.

Then, on 16 and 17 December, a revolt broke out in Timisoara against the communist totalitarian regime. The whole country was at the limit of its patience, in a

state of profound dissatisfaction. However, some massive actions of opposition and the first calls for freedom were heard in Timisoara, signed with the blood of the first martyrs. The citizens of this town made a magnificent and unique gesture of solidarity. They overcame their fear and directly opposed the dictatorship. When the country learned about what was happening in Timisoara, hope was lit again in our souls. Timisoara has become the bloody symbol of our hopes. Timisoara has become a name which concentrates the sense of our struggle. Nobody will forget this act of courage and temerity of the Timisoara residents. The Romanian revolution of December could not have taken place without the struggle and the sacrifices of the Timisoara residence.

Almost for a whole week, the residents of Timisoara confronted alone an entire reprisal apparatus. Those were decisive days for Romania's destiny. The resistance of Timisoara residents, the continuously increasing manifestations, and the virtual occupation of the town on 20 December, when the Army rallied there, proved that the dictatorship could be confronted and defeated. Then, the whole country rose against the system which more than anything else robbed the Romanian people of their most elementary right, that is the hope for a happier future.

I personally lived through those days with profound emotion, when news about what was happening in Timisoara traveled with such great difficulty. I knew personally so many Timisoara inhabitants from all categories of citizens: workers, engineers, university and pre-university teaching staff, students, men of arts, journalists, and young and old people. I had great esteem for the town on the Bega and its inhabitants who received me with so much warmth and humane solidarity in crucial moments of my life. I felt pride in the courage and the great dignity that they were displaying in those heated days.

Timisoara was the trigger for the events which engulfed the whole country and concluded with the chasing away of the dictator and the victory of revolution on 22 December.

The celebration of the first anniversary of the break of the revolution gives me the opportunity to call on the martyr town, which today goes through troubled moments and tension, to think over the question: What was the purpose of the December 1989 Revolution and what are the social, economic, and political realities after a year of fundamental transformations.

Now, a year after the revolution we can see that in spite of difficulties and upheavals that we went through and we are still going through, the fundamental objectives of the revolution, comprised in the 10 program-like points included in the Communique to the Country, on the night of 22 December 1989, have all been promoted.

The totalitarian communist regime has been eliminated, starting with its basic pillars: its party and the repression apparatus. An absolutely new democratic framework was created and the multiparty system is being consolidating. The freedom of expression, of association, and manifestation have been achieved. Free elections took place, which made the basis for the institutions of a state of legality. An economic reform has been initiated and it is aimed at instating the market economy. Land is being redistributed to peasants.

Through the revolution, conditions have been created for Romania's reintegration in the world, for ensuring respect for the fundamental human rights, and for ensuring the freedom of expression of political opinions.

The Parliament, with the participation of all political forces is drafting Romania's constitution, whose theses have been published, and which will be in accordance with the democratic traditions of our political life and with the constitutional experience of developed countries.

As of now, the road we all follow is clear for all of us. The constitution will establish legal ways through which the leadership's democratic institutions can be set up and changed. These ways will be the guarantees for defending the law and for avoiding all attempts to promote arbitrariness in the life of the state, and the reinstallation of any form of totalitarian regime.

We are the ones who have initiated this process. This shows how groundless the attempts to spread suspicion and mistrust about us are and how much they lack seriousness. Nobody will ever be able to remain in power and abuse power. These gains of the revolution cannot be questioned. However, they are threatened by the state of political instability and by the serious social tension which can bring about chaos and anarchy.

The settlement of these conflicts can only be achieved through dialogue and understanding, in a spirit of responsibility required by the difficulties we are living through.

The period ahead is a period of construction and our great chance is precisely to implement the reform program endorsed by the Parliament and which, in its essential characteristics, has been accepted by all social and political forces, by parties and trade unions, and by the great majority of the population. Certainly, it is not perfect and while we make progress in its implementation, reality will bring about the necessary corrections. However, to achieve this, we need to unite our efforts in a climate of social stability and trust.

The chance that we have is unique and we are responsible to ourselves and to our children and the future of our nation for the way in which we are able to defend it.

We want to reiterate that some unfavorable circumstances such as the drought and the Gulf crisis have amplified our difficulties. However, all these difficulties can be overcome, but in order to overcome them we must relaunch our economy and restructure our industry, which was developed in an aberrant way in the past. We must modernize our technologies and relaunch

private initiative and instill competition among producers. We can do all this only if we work under conditions of social and political stability, tranquility and harmony.

There is no real alternative to what we have done and what we are doing. To deny the legitimacy of the democratic, representative institutions which are a result of a popular poll only six months ago and to work to impose other ones on behalf of a discontented minority which manifests itself outside the democratic process, to reject the economic reform in order to replace it with another one meant to cover in fact the same compulsory stages, to organize actions that disrupt the normal course of the economic, social, and political life, and to prevent the government from fulfilling its mandate bestowed upon it—including the mandate to reach an agreement with the great majority of workers, with the trade unions—all these can only lead to the amplification of difficulties, to a delay in the renewing processes, to pushing Romania backwards, to its elimination from the political and economic context characteristic for this turn of century in Europe.

Each person should think about his own actions and be aware of his responsibility.

If we gained a place for ourselves among the nations of the world, we owe it to the (?wisdom) and the intelligence of our people as well as to the sacrifices of our predecessors and to the dignity and courage that our people proved last December. All these should continue to lead us. We should regain our lucidity and tolerance and we should regain our capability to solve by building and not by destroying even the foundation that we have.

It is true that the complex process of transition that started in the wake of the revolution and which accelerated after the elections, has not been carried out without obstacles which could have been avoided. However, the force of democracy lies precisely in the capability to permit the examination and discussion of options, in the support for or tolerance of certain opposing positions, the free election from among many alternatives, and especially, in the respect for the results of the elections, when they express the majority's decision. The opposition should not be expressed only though claims and intolerance. Its superior form is the constructive cooperation under conditions of open confrontation of ideas and arguments which should assist the most viable and efficient options. The force of democracy lies precisely in the reasonable attitude which it presupposes.

It is the right of each citizen—granted through law—to have an individual opinion about the activity of the leadership and to express this opinion publicly just as it is the right of the trade unions and civic, student, or political organizations to organize demonstrations, rallies, [words indistinct].

It is the leadership's duty to take account of these opinions and claims and to find forms for dialogue or negotiation with all forces which indeed seek constructive solutions to the country's problems. At the same time it is the duty of each person to respect the law, the order of the law, and democratic institutions, the only ones entitled to ensure Romania a dignified place among the modern nations of the world.

Likewise, all these actions must have a peaceful nature free of violence. It is not violence, intolerance, and aggression that can settle the problems the present and the future pose before us.

They could only result in the removal of democracy and freedom and the restoration of dictatorship, either a left-wing or a right-wing one.

I am sure that the Romanian people do not want it. I am sure that the Timisoara residents—who were the first one to hoist the flag of revolution and of freedom, which has by now become famous the world over, the flag with its center cut out—will be the first ones not to allow the so valuable fruit of December 1989 to be spoilt.

We must find in ourselves the necessary force to eliminate the source of hatred, of aggression, intolerance, and violence and promote ways of understanding, dialogue, communication, and confrontation of ideas in a spirit of mutual respect, and on this basis to ensure the civic and national solidarity and the necessary unity of all creative and constructive forces of the Romanian people in order to fulfill together the ideals of the December revolution that is: the consolidation of a democratic life, the fulfillment of the fundamental freedoms of the individual, the free promotion of values and genuine skills, and the promotion of the economic reform that we have started, on the basis of the laws of the market, by stimulating free initiative, ensuring social protections and the necessary conditions for material and cultural prosperity of all the members of our society.

The slogan "Without violence" which gives so much hope, was heard for the first time in Timisoara. This gave the moral force to the victory of the revolution in Bucharest and throughout the country.

Allow me now, on the first anniversary of the outbreak of the Romanian revolution, to add my soul's homage to the homage which the whole nation addresses to the residents of Timisoara.

Timisoara Events Continue 17 Dec

AU1712165090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1525 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/12/1990—Commemorative events continue in Timisoara to mark one year since the December revolution. Monday, December 17, is Timisoara Martyrs' Day, and under a prefecture's decision December 17, 1990 is proclaimed mourning day throughout Timis County. All state institutions and the economic enterprises will lower the national flag to half mast. The local radio and television stations as well as the entertainment institutions will adapt their programmes accordingly. A remembrance service will be officiated today and floral wreaths will be

laid at the triptych raised to the memory of the revolution heroes. At 14:00 hours [1200 GMT] columns of people will go on a pilgrimage to the cemetery of the poor and of the heroes where a religious service will be held and wreaths will be laid.

A watch night is scheduled in Revolution Square.

* Communique on Concern for Victims of Revolution

91P20043A Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 22 Nov 90 p 3

[Communique of the Press Office of the Government]

[Text] In connection with the issues raised by the "21 December" Association we would like to make the following statement:

1. In connection with the assertion that there is a lack of concern for the victims of the Revolution (the wounded or the survivors of those who died during the struggle to overthrow the dictatorial regime), we state that a number of measures have already been taken to assist these people.

For example, disability pensions are twice the usual amount; payment is made for all the time the person is on medical leave; free medicine is provided for the injured and for their close relatives and for the survivors of the deceased; recovery treatment is provided free of charge; more than 325 of the wounded have been sent abroad for medical treatment. More than 1,500 free trips within the country and abroad (to the USSR, Turkey, Italy) have been given to some of the participants in the Revolution.

2. The adoption of legislation concerning moral and material compensation for victims of the Revolution is currently being considered by Parliament. On another matter, on the basis of a legislative initiative from this association, there were meetings last month between the Juridical Commission of the Chamber of Deputies and the National Union of the Wounded and Survivors of the Martyr Heroes of the Revolution, of which the "21 December" Association is a member, for the purpose of examining all the details of this draft law.

We state that on the afternoon of 21 December [as published] there was another round of discussions in the Juridical Commission for the purpose of finalizing the draft law, to which the "21 December" Association was also invited. The date of this meeting was set last week, before the announcement that a protest march would be held.

In addition, the draft law, in its present form, contains clear references in regard to the extension of the Administrative Council of the "Libertatea" Fund for the purpose of including members of associations of revolutionaries so that they will have direct control over the way in which financial operations are carried out.

The government is the first to express its desire that the "Libertatea" Fund will be available as rapidly as possible so that it can be used for the noble purposes for which it was established.

Civic Alliance Elects New Leadership 14 Dec

AU1412223090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] On the second day of the national conference of the Civic Alliance, Mr. Iulian Cornateanu presented the organizational structure of the Civic Alliance. The statute and structure of the alliance were submitted to a vote and adopted. Among those to address the meeting were: Octavian Paler, Sorin Dumitrescu, Lucian Giurchescu, Doina Cornea, Janos Szabo, political scientist Victor Frunza, Constantin Ticu-Dumitrescu, Radu Filipescu, Petre Mihai Bacanu, Retired Lieutenant Colonel Silviu Popescu, and historian Mihnea Berindei, who read the solidarity message of the French branch of the Civic Alliance.

Among other things, the speakers spoke out in favor of supporting the opposition political parties by means specific to the Civic Alliance and for, we quote: channeling the street despair in a positive direction for the country; promoting the rights of the national minorities; submitting to the Romanian Parliament the proposal that the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact be declared legally null and void, in accordance with international law; reinstating the 1923 Constitution; and encouraging the citizens to joint political parties of their choice, unquote.

Mr. Petre Mihai Bacanu read the solidarity message of the German branch of the alliance. At the same time he called on the political parties to merge into three or four parties, because, we quote, only united we will be together, unquote.

At the end of the second day of the national conference of the Civic Alliance, the founding members and the delegates elected, by secret ballot, the Steering Council, consisting of 27 people plus the presidents of local branches and representatives of the Church and of important social organizations. The Council elected a Coordinating Committee consisting of: Marian Munteanu, Petre Mihai Bacanu, Iulian Cornateanu, Mircea Diaconu, Gabriel Andreescu, Dumitru Iuga, Ana Blandian, Mihai Sora, George Serban, Stelian Tanase, and Nicolae Manolescu. It was decided that the Presidency should be ensured, by rotation, by each committee member.

Marian Munteanu was elected the first president of the Civic Alliance.

Tomorrow, at 1300 hours [1100 GMT], a news conference will be held in the small hall of the Romanian Athenaeum.

News Conference Held 15 Dec

AU1512212890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2018 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/12/1990—The Civic Alliance wishes to stay astray from the game of power and to work for the seeking out of solutions to the problems confronting Romanian society nowadays, stated Marian Munteanu, chairman of the Alliance, at a news conference on Saturday. He stressed he viewed his election as chairman to be no merit.

The Civic Alliance will organize no meeting on the days commemorating the December 1989 revolution so as to leave no room for provocations on the part of the power or of other obscure, unidentified forces.

The Alliance will contact the President's Press Office and wants the dialogue to be live broadcast on the television at an hour of largest audience.

On the occasion, it was announced that Writer Stelian Tanase and Journalist Petre Mihai Bacanu were the spokesmen for the Civic Alliance.

President Iliescu Receives PNL Delegation

AU1312215090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] President Ion Iliescu met this afternoon at Bucharest Cotroceni Palace with a delegation of the National Liberal Party [PNL], led by Mr. Radu Campeanu, president of the party.

Romania's president said that the PNL and its leadership called for this meeting to exchange views with the country's president about the current situation in Romania, a situation which is a subject for everybody's concern.

I believe, said President Iliescu, that this is an act of political responsibility from a group which proved equilibrium and political responsibility. The goal of this meeting is to find ways of lessening the state of conflict and to attempt to get out of these moments of crisis. I appreciate positively the gesture of the PNL leadership, said President Ion Iliescu.

Mentioning that he called for this meeting to openly discuss the very dangerous situation, which can become even more serious, and to try to find political, democratic solutions to solve these very great difficulties, Mr. Radu Campeanu said that the PNL believes that the existing tension, which is justified to a great extent, can create major risks and can lead to confrontations nobody will be able to halt. The PNL wants these confrontations to be avoided, but at the same time the causes of tension should be resolved, said Mr. Radu Campeanu.

Iliescu, FSN Leaders Meet Campeanu

AU1712172990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1552 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/12/1990—On Monday the Cotroceni Palace hosted the second meeting between President Ion Iliescu and a delegation of the National Liberal Party headed by its president, Radu Campeanu.

The meeting was attended by the president of the Senate, Alexandru Barladeanu, and the speaker of the Assembly of Deputies, Dan Martian, by Prime Minister Petre Roman and by Claudiu Iordache, first vice president of the National Salvation Front [FSN].

At the end of the talks, Messrs. Ion Iliescu, Petre Roman, Radu Campeanu and Claudiu Iordache made short statements to the press.

Mr. Ion Iliescu: In spite of these days' events and especially of the events in Timisoara, with virulent declarations, the meeting with the National Liberal Party's representatives has taken place as it was scheduled.

We have discussed about a dialogue and negotiations to be held the following days, and the National Liberal Party pledged to contact the other opposition formations, too, to find a possible solution for the coparticipation in the government of certain formations in the opposition. That issue remains open function of the results of the dialogue to be held the following days.

Mr. Petre Roman: There is not much to be told. Positive is the fact that such an openness exists and has, maybe, chances to be materialized which means above all the division of responsibilities, the taking over of the power in a not easy moment.

This is the main meaning of this demarche on behalf of both sides, namely the National Salvation Front and the National Liberal Party. This was, in fact, the openness. Future will show us how and if these things materialize.

Mr. Radu Campeanu: We had this meeting in accord with the scheduled programme. After today's talks we shall inform the other opposition parties with which we have the announced convention to find out each party's opinion on the content of the talks and proposals made.

Mr. Claudiu Iordache: A survey was made of the economic and social situation in Romania, the National Liberal Party made proposals for a government of national unity or national consensus. It refers to a government which should also involve other parties in the act of governing. These negotiations are to be held and I think that both sides declared their availability for a good result of these meetings.

FSN Commission Preparing Convention Communique

AU1512212790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2022 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/12/1990—The Central Commission preparing the National Convention of the

National Salvation Front [FSN] has learned about the fact that the Civic Alliance wishes to hold a televised dialogue on the acute problems facing Romanian society at this time, shows a communique of the FSN. The Commission considers it a sincere proposal advanced by the Civic Alliance for a public debate at a difficult moment in the country's destiny, for constructive solutions to do away with the difficulties inherent in a transitional period, and shows its readiness to take part in such a dialogue.

We suggest its holding in the week spanning December 17-23, 1990 on terms to be set by common agreement.

Convention on Establishing Democracy Founded

AU1512204590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1956 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/12/1990—The leaders of six opposition political groupings Toma George Maiorescu, chairman of the Ecologic Movement of Romania, Otto Weber, chairman of the Romanian Ecologic Party, Radu Campeanu, chairman of the National Liberal Party, Corneliu Coposu, chairman of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party, Sergiu Cunescu, chairman of the Romanian Social Democratic Party, and Domokos Geza, chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania signed Saturday, December 15, in Bucharest a declaration on the foundation of the National Convention on Establishing Democracy.

The declaration underlines that the signatory political groupings, while keeping their programmatic and organizational independence, shall work on the basis of consultations and shall undertake to cooperate for an effective application of the principles enunciated in the political and parliamentary life of Romania. The initiators of the convention lay eleven principles at the basis of their activity through the application and observance of which Romania will resume its moral, cultural and political traditions and will be able to integrate, with its personality, into a united Europe that emerges at the horizon of the next millennium, the declaration shows.

One of the convention's major goals, equally open to other political groupings and trade union organizations, is the cooperation of the democratic forces for the designation of the most competent and honest citizens as candidates for the local bodies.

Government Press Bureau Communique

AU1512204490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1940 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/12/1990—In connection with a possible scenario of destabilizing actions and creation of chaos in the country, the Government's Press Office states in a communique distributed to the press that the existence and free expression of parliamentary opposition or public opinion, with observance of the fundamental values and options of democracy, of the country's laws and the order of law, in general, are indispensable prerequisites for the functioning of democratic institutions.

The formulation of such scenarios which arouse anxiety and can, among other things, affect the legal manifestation of such an opposition must be considered as a marginal attitude irrelevant for the real democratic process under way in Romania.

Any mounting of states of tension can but stain the great anniversary of the Romanian revolution the people is ready to mark with veneration and collectedness, in peace and tranquillity, to the memory of our heroes, the communique specifies.

Newspaper Condemns Display of 'Chauvinism'

AU1512161490 Bucharest LIBERALUL in Romanian No. 29/6-13 Dec p 1

[Unsigned editorial note: "If a Fierce Enemy..."]

[Text] If a fierce enemy of the Romanian people and of the government presided by Mr. Petre Roman had wanted to finally compromise our people and government in the eyes of world public opinion, they could not have achieved better results than the beasts who premeditated and plotted the disgusting show that dishonored the national celebrations of Alba Iulia on 1 December, a day which has become our national holiday by the government's will.

The whistling and booing which constantly drowned out the speeches by the two leaders of the historical parties, Corneliu Coposu and Radu Campeanu, as well as the sober and correct speech by the representative of the Hungarian nation in Romania, Mr. Senator Geza-Stefan Szocz of Cluj County, are a national shame.

Coming after the sinister and bloody provocation of 13-15 June 1990—a period about which the enquiry seems to have reached a deadlock—the new and degrading display of intolerance, of ugly chauvinism, and of race and class hatred has led to an even greater destabilization of the Romanian society, which has been traumatized by 52 years of alternate devastating dictatorships.

The more than 100 foreign journalists and guests, including those from across the Prut River, were the visual and audio witnesses of a truly prehistoric Romanian performance.

The fascist chauvinistic movement behind this sinister performance has committed an act of high national treason.

The government and its obvious and not so obvious authorities which sponsored or at least tolerated this performance are guilty of being accomplices in this anti-national crime, which was deliberately done out of political and chauvinist motives.

The first celebration of the day that was proclaimed by the government itself as the new national day of

Romania defiled history, revived the tribulations of the past, and compromised most seriously Romania's prestige in the world.

We demand an investigation and the exemplary punishment of the guilty ones.

PUNR Appeals For Calm During Holidays

AU1612170390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1447 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 16/12/1990—An appeal to unity and calm was addressed by the leadership of the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR] to the inhabitants of the whole country. The appeal, released to the press, advances the proposal that the country's Parliament be convened urgently in order to establish the ways out of the current crisis in the country. The Romanian people, so hard tried in 1990, have the right and wishes to have peace and quiet in order to commemorate one year since the revolution, to enjoy the Christmas and the New Year's Eve. An exhortation is made for the renunciation of the strikes and demonstrations against the lawful order until after the winter celebrations. The employment of strikes for political purposes now that the economy is faced with great difficulties will result in even more hardships from a material point of view for Romania's population, the appeal shows.

* Aims of New Socialist Labor Party

91BA0152A Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 20 Nov 90 p 2

[Interviews with Nicolae Balasoiu and Ilie Verdet by Andrei Alexandru; places and date not given]

[Text]

Statements by Nicolae Balasoiu and Ilie Verdet

In our Sunday issue Mr. George Serban presented a series on the National Conference of the Democratic Labor Party [DLP] held on Friday 16 November. In view of the fact that Mr. Serban has resigned his position as vice chairman and will probably not even remain a member of the party renamed the Socialist Labor Party [SLP], we requested additional explanations from Mr. Nicolae Balasoiu, vice chairman of the SLP. The 16 November meeting was attended by 576 participants, 350 of whom were DLP members representing 32 county organizations, while the rest were members of the Socialist Party, a party which is not registered with the Bucharest Municipal Court. The change of name from "democratic labor" to "socialist labor" and the acceptance of some prominent members of the former RCP [Romanian Communist Party] who had been gathered together in the Socialist Party had previously been discussed and endorsed at central level and within county organizations. Consequently, by the time of Friday's meeting the die had already been cast and the meeting proceeded smoothly. Some of the participants left during one recess, not ostentatiously but simply because the most important item on the agenda had been finished and the participants in question, having come from the provinces, had trains or planes to catch. Mr. Balasoiu estimates that at present the newly renamed SLP has 123,000 members. He also thinks that the existence of this party became necessary because of, on the one hand, the resurrection of the extreme right (in point of fact, Mr. Balasoiu said that he had been the victim of two attacks; in one of them, the attacker, armed with a knife, was later identified by the police) and on the other, in order to steer a constructive path the extreme left, which has recently also been making its presence felt. On the same day I also met with the new SLP chairman Mr. Ilie Verdet (note that the old DLP did not have a chairman).

[Alexandru] Is the new SLP a communist party?

[Verdet] No, certainly not. Neither in its ideology, objectives, or structure. It is a left-wing, moderate, socialist-type party.

[Alexandru] What do the party members call each other, "Mister," or "Comrade?"

[Verdet] Previously the mistake was that the 'comrade' address was imposed; now it would be equally wrong to impose 'mister.' Each person is free to use what they like.

[Alexandru] Do you intend to join the Socialist International?

[Verdet] Yes. For the time being, however, we are at the stage of cementing the party organization.

[Alexandru] How did the idea of reorganizing the DLP and SLP come about?

[Verdet] The Romanian political arena currently features a right wing and a center, but the left wing is almost nonexistent. After everything that happened the left cannot hope to govern in any shape or form, but it can come up with an alternative that it can clearly express. The workers and peasants are at present very little active in the country's political life and its legislative bodies.

[Alexandru] To vote or express an opinion on a law one needs a certain political and juridical education. Do you think that we should have workers and peasants in Parliament?

[Verdet] When I say workers I don't mean just lathe turners or miners who operate pneumatic hammers, but also technicians and engineers directly employed in production. We must remember that most of the workers have high school and post-high school education.

[Alexandru] You were prime minister under Ceausescu. Don't you think that your former position will have a negative impact on the prestige of the SLP?

[Verdet] The people in attendance gave me their vote. But if future developments are negaitve I will withdraw from the leadership and serve only as a rank and file member. I will anyway have to retire in the not too distant future for reasons of age. I am 65 years old and we need to promote young people in the party's central

and local leadership. My role during the Ceausescu period is a broader issue that I would like to discuss some other time.

There were quite a few people in responsible positions under Ceausescu who opposed him openly or by not carrying out the dictator's orders. Some of them were removed, others were relegated to insignificance, but all of them were closely watched by securitate men faithful to Ceausescu. Please believe me that it was not easy to oppose Ceausescu. One's family, presonal freedom, and perhaps evenone's life were on the line. I did oppose him, and that's why I was removed from the post of chairman of the Council of Ministers. I think that the mentality that spread after the revolution was both unjust and tendentious. Those who held higher positions should be tried and sentenced. "We suffered in the cold and waited in lines while they were enjoying the good life. Now let them pay for it." Let me tell you, we did pay for it. We lived under psychological terror. It is terrible to realize that the decisions made are wrong and that people will suffer and not be able to do anything to stop that bulldozer surrounded by the Securitate. It is true that some of the members of the leadership indeed had no scruples, but we shouldn't all be thrown into the same pot. In the winter of 1981-82, in order to be able to provide heat and electricity for the people I stopped work at two cement factories and two electrolysis plants in Slatina, and cut down steel production in Galati. I was accused of undermining the national economy.

[Alexandru] What do you think of the West European countries' attitude toward Romania?

[Verdet] The European Parliament, which is carrying out investigations and studies, does not seem to have faith in the capability of the Romanian people to use democracy. This is in a way an interference in our internal affairs. If the present leadership does not produce the results expected, judgment should be passed by the people, not by international organizations.

[Alexandru] What do you think about the trade unions?

[Verdet] They have to grasp the resposibility they bear for production. I think that the trade unions should sit on the managerial boards of enterprises in order to share the responsibilities. There are too many strikes whose reasons are not clear or whose objectives are not justified.

[Alexandru] Thank you.

* Efforts To 'Annihilate' Spy Services Cited

91BA0150C Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 27 Nov 90 p 2

[Andrei Alexandru article: "Spies Don't Make Believe"]

[Text] The revolution of December 1989 led to the dismantling of the institution of the Securitate. The Romanian people hated the Securitate because of its methods, its abuses, and particularly because of the cause and clan it served.

The period of time until the organization of the new Romanian Intelligence Service [RIS], during which our country was left like a village without dogs, was well used by any foreign factors that wanted to infiltrate men, material, and equipment in various areas. We had come away at least partially from the Soviet sphere of influence, and the struggle to "adopt" Romania had begun. Such attempts to "adopt" us were waged and continue to be waged at several levels: regional ("Dangerous extensive escaladation of nationalism and of autonomist-separatist movements..."), political, ethnic, religious ("The present conditions permitted an extensive circulation of persons and information... which was consistently and harmfully exploited for the proliferation and escaladation of political, ethnic, and religious extremism"), and of course economic. Any Western company's security service is made up of professionals, not of old sleepy doormen. ("Seeing spies behind every tree is one thing, and leaving the country's secrets lying all over the place for anyone to pick up is something else again").

That embassies have personnel trained to gather information has long been a fact of life in international diplomacy. In our case, however, "agents penetrated political parties, trade unions, leagues, and other organizations... disguised financing of various publications used to influence and steer public opinion... suborning persons who work with secret information... penetration of the structures of the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of National Defence, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the RIS..." How could that be possible? Very easily. We have perhaps the largest number of scoundrels per square kilometer in the world. For years and years many people didn't even now what a one dollar bill looked like, and they had seen the West only in movies. Taking advantage of this extraordinary condition and of the material and moral neediness of some people and their desire to make money, professional spies managed to achieve in a few months what they had probably failed to achieve in 45 years.

It seems that the mission of some of them is to try to annihilate the RIS and the military counterintellivence services through slanderous press campaigns which, taking advantage of the people's aversion of the former Securitate, equate the RIS with the defunct institution. The case of CADA [Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army], which disagreed with the reorganization of the counterintelligence, may be a case in point. In ROMANIA LIBERA issue No. 280, an article entitled "Wasting the Country's Money on the RIS" queried: "Were are the Iron Guardists, Mr. Magureanu? Where are the industrial spies? Please show us one! They may exist, but if RIS doesn't show us one that means either that what we heard in Parliament was a colossal lie, or that we are paying an institution in full process of development for nothing." Thus, if the RIS chief did not name a concrete case because it was not the right place for concrete revelations, it means that RIS was either lying or was inept. Can that be true?

One distinct chapter is the "penetration of agents in political parties, trade unions..." Investing money in a

party is a very profitable venture, especially if the party in question wins in elections. After the revolution, the emergence of certain political parties attracted contributions and financial or technical aid. The reason given for such actions was support for the young Romanian democracy. But we cannot exclude the possibility that in some cases these actions were designed to steer our society in a certain direction. The acceptance of money contributions by some parties, something that the parties didn't try to deny, was accompanied by pressures to adopt more radical policies and to slide toward the right.

Another proof of foreign attempts to influence the political situation in Romania was the establishment in Frankfurt am Main of a German branch of the Civic Alliance. Some people still haven't grasped that votes are won here, not there. Or is it that the number of votes doesn't count, only the amount of marks?

The issue of counterespionage is very delicate in a democratic state. A counterintelligence officer is tasked with following the activities of a suspect. If it turns out that the suspect acted against the country's interests, the mission was justified. If not, and if the suspect was a member or supporter of an opposition party, it may be said that the authorities seized a pretext in order to gather information on the activities of political adversaries. Such accusations are sometimes well founded: The Watergate affair, which led to President Nixon's removal from the leadership of the American Administration was the best example along this line. Who knows how many undiscovered similar actions have been staged in the most developed and traditional democracies?

Another aspect of the issue is that counterespionage activities cannot be carried out in full sight of the world, so that a large dose of conspiracy is necessary. However, keeping actions secret can lead to abuses that are hard to detect. And finally, the problem of personnel for this type of services is a very thorny problem. Loyalty, discretion, intelligence, and technical skills are absolutely necessary traits for a counterintelligence officer. One needs time to cultivate such cadres, and once they have joined such a service there is slight probability that they will ever go to another job. The impression of being irreplaceable is often real, but it can also lead to abuse.

In this light, wishing to preempt abuses and in view of the alarming revelations made by Mr. V. Magureanu, the country's Parliament must urgently adopt appropriate legislation to assist this very important institution for our country's stability. As for Mr. Magureanu, he must remain consistent in his activities, just like the Defense Ministry leadership appears to be. Spies, as is known, don't make believe; why should the *RIS*?

Pro Bessarabia Demonstrations in Bucharest 16 Dec

AU1612180390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1616 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 16/12/1990—The pro Bessarabia and Bukovina Association organized on December 16 at noon in the Bucharest Revolution Square a rally in support of the Bessarabians' struggle to preserve the territorial integrity of the Republic of Moldova as well as against the separatist actions, i.e. the proclamation of the so-called Gagauz and Dniestrean Republics, against the Union Treaty drafted by the Soviet Government. The rally was joined in also by the members of the Inter-Party Alliance that comprises the Free Democratic Party, the National Democratic Party, the Christian Democratic Union, the Independent National Peasant Party and the Christian Democratic Revolutionary Party.

The speakers branded the Ribentropp-Molotov Pact which had torn Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina away from Romania, and demanded the reclamation of the respective territories for the motherland. Also, criticism was leveled at the attitude of the government, of the Parliament and of the president regarding the issue of Bessarabia, and action was demanded in support of the inalienable rights of the Moldovans in the territory they live in.

The meeting also marked one year since the events in Timisoara that had triggered off the revolution.

The participants, carrying flags and slogans, then marched on to the Victory Square and the USSR Embassy.

In front of the Television Building the demonstrators expressed their solidarity with Dumitru Iuga, leader of the TV Union who is on hunger strike.

Slogans against the government and the president were also shouted during the rally and the march.

Assembly Preparing Declaration on Nation's Future

LD1712014890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2203 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Dec (TANJUG)—Mijat Sukovic, president of the Yugoslav parliament Constitutional Commission, said on Sunday that the commission is shortly to adopt a declaration on the future of Yugoslavia which appeals on all its republics to refrain from unilateral decisions on the country's future.

The draft declaration will then be submitted to the Federal Chamber of the bicameral Yugoslav parliament by summary procedure, Sukovic said.

In a statement on Belgrade Television this evening, Sukovic said that the draft declaration provides for Yugoslavia to continue to exist with the present form of state organization until a new agreement on its future system is reached.

The draft declaration is not prejudiced on whether Yugoslavia will be a federation or a confederation, Sukovic said and added that the decision on the issue would be left up to the future act on the country's organization.

The declaration will propose that the drawing up of a new act on relations in Yugoslavia, which has to be adopted in a peaceful, democratic and legal way, begin immediately.

The declaration is against unilateral decisions by the Yugoslav republics and the policy of "ultimatums and faits accomplis," Sukovic said and added that this also applied to the forthcoming plebiscite on the independence and autonomy of the Republic of Slovenia, set for December 23.

If the proposal is adopted by the federal parliament's Constitutional Commission and the Federal Chamber, it will be submitted to the parliaments of the six Yugoslav republics, Sukovic said. If the republican parliaments accept the declaration, the Yugoslav parliament will adopt it at one of its first next sessions.

Army Favors Federation, Single Defense System

LD1412222490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2054 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Novi Sad, 14 Dec (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) [JNA] supports peaceful and democratic changes and political (?pluralism) with clear rules of the game, vice-secretary of the Federal Secretariat for National Defence Dr Milan Cusic told reporters in Novi Sad today.

Cusic said that the YPA was in favour of a modern federation and a single system of defence in the country. He pointed out that the introduction of political pluralism and democratic processes had also inspired a critical attitude of the press and mass media towards the Army. This is good, but some media "deliberately bring nihilistic and biased views", aimed at "weakening the defence forces" and "undermining the unity of the armed forces" of Yugoslavia, Cusic said.

The Army supports the stands brought by Federal Defence Secretary General Veljko Kadijevic in his interview to the Zagreb weekly DANAS, Cusic said.

In the interview given two weeks ago, Kadijevic announced that all parallel armed formations would be disarmed and rejected claims about a possible coup in the country as deliberate speculations.

According to Cusic, the key stands of Kadijevic's interview are being disputed by the "protagonists of secessionist, nationalist and anti-Yugoslav concepts." The advocates of these concepts are aware that the united YPA is an "insurmountable obstacle for the realisation of their plans to divide Yugoslavia, set up independent midget states and their nationalist formations", Cusic said.

Kadijevic's interview was disputed in certain parts of the country and qualified as an attempt to impose a military solution, aimed at slowing down the democratic processes in Yugoslavia.

Slovenian and Croatian officials were especially fierce in their attacks. These republics have already embarked towards full independence and advocate the creation of national armies.

LC Ends Work Within Army; Consolidates Power

LD1712131190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0949 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Dec (TANJUG)—The delegates of the 10th Congress of the Leauge of Communists (LC) Organization of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] have decided to terminate the Communist organization's work in the Army and incorporate it into the League of Communists - Movement for Yugoslavia. In this context any individual's right not to join the League of Communists - Movement for Yugoslavia is not called into question, provided they do not want to.

These moves, which reflect, it was said, the adjusting of the LC Organization in the JNA to the new social circumstances, are motivated by the belief that any multiparty activities and organizations within the Army could endanger its unity, Yugoslav- oriented character, and constitutional role as well as by finding the League of Communists - Movement for Yugoslavia being most suited to the political commitments of the JNA Communists.

At the same time the conference elected 31 delegates to the forthcoming first conference of the League of Communists - Movement for Yugoslavia, and at the end of the conference it sent a letter to LC members in the Army inviting them to join the newly founded party.

Assembly Chamber Reviews 1991 Draft Budget

LD1412060190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1648 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Summary] Belgrade, 13 Dec (TANJUG)—The Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly today discussed next year's federal budget. Federal Finance Secretary Branko Zekan said the draft budget was drawn up on the assumption that the existing financial system should be retained until a new agreement on financing state commitments was reached. The draft budget amounts to 154.7 billion dinars or 10.4 percent of the country's gross national product [GNP]. He said that, although this budget and its 7.6 percent deficit was admittedly excessive, it still ran short of meeting all its legal obligations.

According to the draft budget for 1991, 4.6 percent of the planned GNP is to be allocated to the Yugoslav Peoples Army which together with the budget's commitment to the Federal Fund for Undeveloped Republics and Provinces accounts for 46.4 percent of the federation's budget.

Later on, the Assembly adopted as a matter of urgency changes and amendments to the Law on Social Accountancy which should make it harder for republics and provinces to dodge their commitments to the federal budget. Those who fail to meet these commitments will face criminal charges. Zekan also said that if these measures failed to provide the federal budget with money, the country would have to face either financial chaos or a new cycle of money printing.

Jovic Speaks on Economic Situation in Kragujevac

LD1612163590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1358 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Text] Kragujevac, 16 Dec (TANJUG)—We are at the decisive juncture of the development of our society and economy and, as we seek the way out of the crisis, in serious danger of succumbing to euphoria and pressures from either side, left or right-wing side—something that unfortunately used to happen in our history. SFRY Presidency President Boris Jovic said this today on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Economic Faculty of Kragujevac, where he offered congratulations on this anniversary and received a plaque from this academic institution.

Today our country has democratic opportunities for science to acquire more importance and find those ways out of the crisis which are best, without any pressures from any side. This is why today the science of economics is being given a much better position as well as greater responsibility so as to evaluate everything at our disposal and what we did in the past and to enable us to say publicly and openly where the mistakes were, and which mistakes should not be repeated, Jovic said.

In searching for new solutions one should not succumb to any pressures or ideological prejudices but, depending on real opportunities and given circumstances, propose and fight for solutions which will really lead us ahead, I have to say that for all kinds of reasons—above all because of the political euphoria which would seize power and change everything at any cost regardless whether that is good or not—and mostly because of attempts to devise better solutions, we are exposed to all manner of pressure, both good and bad.

The president of the SFRY Presidency said that many achievements of our country which constitute the foundations of our future, even the freedom we achieved which claimed 1.7 million lives, our country's independence and autonomy, as the lasting values which enable us to live and work, are now being belittled and underestimated.

It is important for us today not to underestimate our history and to finally identify the mistakes we should not repeat. This is why economics is expected to research thoroughly and sensibly and in a scientific and proof-supported way while using its own head, proposing and fighting for solutions without any euphoria and pressures from outside. I expect this economic faculty and science in the whole country to help our community so we can find ways out of the crisis, and I have no doubt that we will succeed in doing this.

Otherwise, the Economic Faculty of Kragujevac has provided 3,800 experts with degrees over the last three decades.

Government 'Satisfied' With 120 Percent Inflation

LD1612164390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1501 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Dec (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Assistance Minister of Trade Dr Branko Maricic told TANJUG today that, on the eve of the first anniversary of the anti-inflation programme, the government was satisfied with this year's annual inflation rate of 120 percent, brought down from 2,665 percent in 1989.

In view of a projected inflation rate of one or two percent in December, annual inflation is not expected to exceed 120 percent, Dr Maricic explained.

When presenting the anti-inflation programme on December 18, 1989, Prime Minister Ante Markovic had forecast a 13-percent rise in prices in 1990. In the light of this, the results achieved are far below expectation, said Dr Maricic and added that the ceiling was passed due to unexpected factors, such as the gulf crisis and a disastrously droughty summer.

Dr Maricic said Yugoslavia's inefficient economy, burdened as it is by losses and an unfavourable structure, must expect a certain rate of inflation. It is therefore most important that the economy be transformed, which shall necessitate foreign financial support, Dr Maricic said in conclusion.

Reform Law Credited on Foreign Investment Figures

LD1412053990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0137 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Dec (TANJUG)—No less than 2,307 contracts on foreign investments in the Yugoslav economy were signed by the end of November this year—ten times more than the total recorded over the last two decades.

The foreign investment total in mixed, foreign-owned and jointly-owned firms is according to data released by the Belgrade Economic Institute 1,464 million D-Marks [Deutsche mark—DM].

The foreign investors were attracted by the guarantees offered by the series of reform laws implemented by the federal administration under which the rights of foreign investors are now fully equal with those of Yugoslav ones, by the convertibility of the Yugoslav dinar, the stability of the exchange rate and the country's large foreign currency reserves—currently standing at about nine billion dollars.

Some 40,000 small, medium sized, mixed, private and cooperative firms have been formed in Yugoslavia by now, and their number will according to Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic rise to about 70,000 by the end of the year. Foreign partners have an investment share in many of these firms.

Most of the firms investing in Yugoslavia are from Germany, Austria, Italy and the United States.

Most of the capital has flowed into the Republic of Serbia—328 million DM, followed by Slovenia with 324 million and Croatia with 218 million DM.

The Federal Secretariat for Foreign Economic Relations says the biggest problems for foreign firms are Yugoslav taxation laws and the complex accounting system, which is unstandardized among the republics.

The slight slowing of investments, which has picked up speed early this year, is thought to be a result of inter-republican disagreements during the process of the first post-war multi-party elections in the Yugoslav republics and provinces.

Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic has expressed the hope that these unfavorable trends will soon disappear and that the Yugoslav economy will continue to attract interest by foreign businessmen after the election tension eases.

Presidency Accuses Slovene Leaders of Threats

LD1412154990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1215 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Dec (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav State Presidency today accused the leadership of Slovenia of using threats about an alleged military intervention in the republic to encourage Slovenes to vote for secession in the impending plebiscite.

A statement issued by the Presidency's press office said the Slovenian leaders "want to create an atmosphere of fear from the Yugoslav Army ahead of the plebiscite", in order to convince the Slovene voters that living together in Yugoslavia is impossible.

The aim is to make an impact on the voters before they go to the polls on December 23, the statement said.

It also recalled that federal officials, including President Borisov Jovic, had repeatedly denied Slovenia's allegations about the Yugoslav Army, but that Slovenian officials continue to make them.

Slovenia Set To Boycott 19 Dec Assembly Session

LD1412160190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1324 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 14 Dec (TANJUG)—Out of principle we shall not take part in the Federal Chamber session scheduled for 19 December, which will discuss the Slovene plebiscite. This was announced today by France Bucar, president of the Slovene Assembly, in a special press statement.

Explaining the Slovene decision, Bucar stressed that regarding this issue, they are bound by the stand of the Slovene Assembly according to which "only other republics can be our interlocutors and the Federal Assembly's mediating role is not recognized."

The Federal Assembly is, according to Bucar, one of the main sources of discord, which prevents Yugoslavia from existing in the present form. [sentence as received] For this reason, the Slovene Assembly sent other republics the so-called "letter of good intentions." Following this, Slovene Assembly delegations visited republican assemblies. "The current crisis can be settled only in a democratic, peaceful, and negotiated manner," Bucar holds. He went on to add that the Slovene Assembly had decided to hold a plebiscite to gauge the will of the Slovene people.

The fact that we do not recognize the mediating role of the Federal Assembly does not mean that we are breaking up Yugoslavia, Bucar emphasized. According to him, the only way for Yugoslavia to survive is through negotiations with other republican leadership. In conclusion, France Bucar stated that confederation is the only option if Yugoslavia is to remain one country.

Assessing the visits made so far by Slovene parliamentary delegations to other republics, Bucar stated that all his interlocutors assessed this step positively. Vojvodina replied in writing that the only place for negotiations is the Federal Assembly. We are still waiting for a reply from Serbia, he said.

Slovene Assembly Adopts Plebiscite Law

AU1512164190 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 7 Dec 90 p 1

[Jana Taskar report: "On 23 December, Slovenes Will Vote on Whether They Are in Favor of Autonomy and Independence"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 6 Dec—The Slovene parliament has adopted the Law on the Plebiscite on Autonomy and Independence of the Republic of Slovenia with 203 votes for (with acclamation) and four abstentions. The plebiscite will be held on 23 December and the decision will be adopted if more than a half of the electorate votes in its favor. At the same time, the parliament adopted the Statement on Good Intentions which was proposed by the Slovene Presidency, the proclamation to the citizens with one abstention, and the government's document on Slovenia's autonomy with 187 votes for, one against, and seven abstentions.

The Constitutional Commission which met before the vote rejected all three proposed amendments and the parliament rejected the amendment proposed by Anton Tomazic of the Slovene Democratic Alliance for a simple majority at the plebiscite and the amendment proposed by Vitomir Gros and Zvone Zagar of the Liberal Party that the separation from the SFRY should be carried out one year from the day of the plebiscite. The parliament adopted the amendment proposed by the same deputies to the effect that the law should also include the provision that the plebiscite may in no way exclude the permanent rights to self-determination and to an autonomous and independent state.

Let us return to the morning's events. Separate sessions of the chambers which were planed for 1000 [0900 GMT], started with a delay of about one hour, because the Demos [United Opposition] caucus was in session almost until then. The meeting was held behind closed doors and discussed the agreement between the republican Presidency and government about the proposal on the law on the plebiscite. The agreement and joint decision of the two bodies will be written down in the amendments to the law on the plebiscite, that is, to Article 3 which concerns a quorum: The decision for the Republic of Slovenia to become autonomous and independent is adopted if a majority of all electorate decides in its favor. In an amendment to Article 4, the Presidency and government proposed that the plebiscite should be carried out on Sunday, 23 December, and the last amendment says that the deadline for deciding on polling stations should be moved to an earlier date.

At 0100 [1200 GMT], the Constitutional Commission met and discussed the amendments submitted by the Slovene Presidency and Executive Council, as well as an identical amendment about the quorum which had been submitted by the Party of Democratic Renewal and independent deputies and supported by the Socialists. Despite all previous agreements and the coordination of views, the debate did not lack differences in views and polemics. Finally, the Constitutional Commission adopted the decision about the essential question, the quorum, with 13 votes in favor, five against, and four abstentions.

The joint session of all three chambers, with Dr. France Bucar in the chair, opened somewhat after 0200 [0100 GMT]. The deputies added to the agenda the adoption of the declaration on respecting basic conventions of the Council of Europe.

The debate on the central issue, the plebiscite was then opened. The deputies were given the cleansed text of the law proposal and the text of the proclamation for the plebiscite—voters will reply with yes or no to the following question: Should the Republic of Slovenia become an autonomous and independent state? There was also the text of the Statement of Good Intentions which was submitted to the Assembly by the Slovene Presidency. Milan Kucan, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia spoke about the statement and the significance of the plebiscite. After him, Prime Minister Lojze Peterle addressed the deputies adding some points about the government's document on Slovenia's independence. He stressed in particular that he is glad that before the opening of the joint session, political parties and groups of deputies signed the agreement on the joint appearance at the plebiscite.

When the debate opened, it seemed at the beginning that all talks and the signing of the interparty agreement were all in vain, because the first deputies to take part in it, Anton Tomazic, Milos Urbancic, and Dr. Hubert Pozarnik, again spoke in favor of a simple majority at the plebiscite and at the same time harshly attacked the opposition claiming that it had been spreading defeatism and in fact working against the success of the plebiscite, and that it should assume the responsibility for a failure of the plebiscite. The opposition, however, failed to reply to the challenge and perhaps that very fact directed the further course of the debate—almost 30 deputies spoke.

The deputies unanimously decided that they will invite representatives from neighboring states and international organizations to control preparations for and the procedure of the plebiscite, as well as that they will send an invitation to all Slovenes in the world to join in the recognition of Slovenia as an autonomous and independent state.

Chambers of the republican Assembly are going to continue to work next Tuesday [11 December].

Proclamation
To the Citizens of the Republic of Slovenia
To all Voters in the Republic of Slovenia Come to vote at the plebiscite on Sunday, 2 December 1990 We shall vote about the following question:

Should the Republic of Slovenia become an autonomous and independent state?	
Yes	No

The decision about an autonomous and independent state of Slovenia will be adopted if a majority of all voters vote in its favor.

The significance of the decision in favor of an autonomous and independent Republic of Slovenia is as follows:

1. As an autonomous and independent state, the Republic of Slovenia will no longer be part of the federal state—the SFRY.

2. A gradual realization of the Republic of Slovenia's status as an autonomous and independent state will be established by a constitutional act on the implementation of the decision adopted at the plebiscite, a new constitution of the Republic of Slovenia, and a constitutional law for the realization of the constitution.

3. As an autonomous and independent state, the Republic of Slovenia will be able to conclude interstate agreements, including a confederal agreement with the states of the other Yugoslav peoples.

The decision about an autonomous and independent state adopted at the plebiscite will oblige the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia to adopt within six months constitutional and other acts and measures that are necessary for the Republic of Slovenia to be able to take upon itself the realization of its sovereign rights that it had transferred to the organs of the SFRY. At the same time, negotiations should begin with the other republic in the SFRY concerning the legal heritage of the SFRY and the future regulation—according to the principles of the international law—of mutual relations, including the proposal on the confederal agreement.

We are in favor of an autonomous and independent state, Republic of Slovenia.
The Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia

Slovene Government on Consequences of Independence

AU1712102890 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 4 Dec 90 p 1

[Veso Stojanov report: "The Advantages of Becoming Independent Involve a Risk"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 3 Dec—The Slovene Government has recently submitted a comprehensive document to the Assembly in which it explains in detail the reasons to hold the plebiscite, individual aspects of Slovenia's independence, and the assessment of the possible consequences. We received the government's document today and our editorial board decided to give you an extensive report on it.

At the beginning of the document, the government points out that if the result of the plebiscite is in favor of an autonomous and independent state, the Republic of Slovenia will take upon itself those powers that it has so far been held at the federal level. That decision also means that Slovenia will no longer be a part of the Federation, that is, a part of the SFRY, but an independent state, a legal international factor which would make independent decisions about the kind of links it will establish with other states. The plebiscitary decision would be binding to the Assembly, the government, and the Presidency of Slovenia. In the government's opinion, the decision on autonomy can be realized in three ways: division from other republics in the federation; Slovenia's separation from the Federation, that is, its secession; or the conclusion of a confederal agreement among independent states.

However, if the Slovene people decide that they do not want Slovenia to become an autonomous and independent state, according to the government, that would mean that they do not want to decide on their future by themselves and that they want to leave that basic right of self-determination to others. That would also mean that the Slovene people will remain a part of the federation where decisions about their destiny will be made by a majority and where others will be deciding about the basic conditions of life in Slovenia on behalf of the Slovene people by outvoting them.

The largest part of the government's document on Slovenia's independence is devoted to the economy and the impact of independence on that economy.

Regardless of what Slovenia decides, to become independent or to remain within the federation, the Slovene economy is undergoing a deep crisis. In the government's opinion, the years to come will, in general, be years of self-denial, increased unemployment, falling production and crisis. Taking this into consideration, the government is of the opinion that independence would make the following possible: a quicker establishment of a normal economic system, an independent economic policy suitable to the Slovene economy, a normal flow of capital between Slovenia and the world, a better use of geographic position, a more efficient use of developmental potential, an accelerated adjustment to European economic norms, and a cease in keeping an expensive federal state.

The government points out that all the advantages of becoming independent—except for the abolition of the funds flowing over to the federal state—are of a potential nature, that is, they depend on our capabilities to make use of them and our readiness for self-denial. In the government's opinion, all consequences of becoming independent are impossible to forecast, but none of the said advantages can be used within Yugoslavia. Moreover, the possibility of an economic breakup is even greater.

Slovenia's independence certainly involves a risk, because it depends on events that are impossible to forecast completely, in particular the reaction by other parts of Yugoslavia and the Federation, as well as the reaction by other states, and by international financial and other institutions. In the government's opinion, an immediate dependence on loans of foreign commercial

banks and on foreign financial aid is particularly crucial, because those are impossible to ensure in advance, so the risk is particularly great in these two spheres. During the period between the moment the outcome of the plebiscite is publicized and Slovenia's independence, the Government and other state organs would therefore have to act is such a way so to be able to avoid the consequences that would accompany an immediate unilateral interruption of connections with other parts of Yugoslavia. According to the government, if this is not done, the Slovene economy would be threatened by the following: a blockage of financial flows because of joint debts, the loss of the Yugoslav market and the foreign trade connections with the world that Slovenia now has through Yugoslav enterprises and institutions, the loss of property in other parts of Yugoslavia, the reduction of the market to a size that is less interesting to foreign investors, an unfavorable attitude of the World Bank, the IMF, GATT, and other international institutions toward Slovenia, and the large cost of developing an individual economic system.

Slovenia Plans 3 Projects If Independence Voted

LD1512222890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1947 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] Celje, 15 Dec (TANJUG)—If the majority of Slovenes vote yes for Slovenia's independence in the plebiscite, the republican government will prepare three projects—one for Slovenia's minimum financing of the Yugoslav federation, the other for separating from the federal state, while the last project would envisage cooperation with other Yugoslav republics on new foundations.

This was stated by Slovenian Prime Minister Lojze Peterle at a consultation between the republic's municipality presidents and Slovenian officals in the city of Celje, devoted to the plebiscite on Slovenia's independence set for December 23.

President of the Slovenian parliament France Bucar pointed out that the Slovenian plebiscite comes as a result of a struggle for democracy and that Slovenia, following the fall of the single-party Bolshevik system, was now undergoing a renaissance of national feeling and seeking of a national identity. He added that a national state was not Slovenia's ultimate goal, adding that a world congress of Slovenes would be held next year.

During the consultation, the expectation that Slovenes would vote in favor of an independent state predominated, while the municipality presidents underscored that Slovenia's economic situation would be ameliorated as soon as possible following the plebiscite.

Slovene Minister Calls For Independent Army

LD1412212990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1927 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 14 Dec (TANJUG)—Defense Minister of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia Janez Jansa on Friday officially demanded of the Yugoslav Army General Staff to enable soldiers coming from Slovenia to take part in the plebiscite set for December 23.

The population of Slovenia is to say through a plebiscite whether they endorsed an independent state of Slovenia.

Jansa spoke on Friday in Ljubljana to the students of the National Defense Faculty (a kind of civilian equal to military academy) that Slovenia was in a position to become the first de-militarized zone if the process of disarmament was continued in Europe.

However, at the same time announced the possibility for Slovenia to ensure its security by way of its own armed forces, which as he said, would cost Slovenia less than what it was now setting aside for the Yugoslav armed forces.

Jansa also stated that the majority of the 1,000 officers of Slovene nationality in the Yugoslav Army wished to join the new army which Slovenia would form.

Slovene Law on Citizenship Reviewed

LD1412165890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1542 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Ljubljana, December 14 (TANJUG)—Interior Ministry of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia on Friday announced that passports and other documents, which are to bear the mark of a new autonomous and independent state of Slovenia, were already being prepared.

Ministry official Slavko Debelak told a news conference in Slovenian capital Ljubljana the ministry has drafted a new law on citizenship, based on the assumption that Slovenia would be autonomous and independent.

Slovenia insists that Yugoslavia become a confederation, something the largest Yugoslav republic—Serbia—as well as Montenegro, reject. Slovenia has announced the creation of a fully independent state, if its demands for confederation were not met.

A plebiscite will be held on December 23 in Slovenia at which its population is to state whether it favored an independent state. The polls have shown that in the majority of cases the answer would be 'yes'.

A new law on citizenship, as Debelak explained, envisaged no possibility for dual citizenship. Slovene citizenship will be granted to children born in Slovenia of parents who hold Slovene citizenship. Those inhabitants of Slovenia who come from other parts of Yugoslavia and who do not have Slovene citizenship are advised to apply to the competent republican organs.

According to the ministry, Slovenia has one million 963,000 inhabitants. Some 360,000 do not have Slovene citizenship and if they do not apply for it, or their request was turned down, they will be treated as aliens.

The Party for Civic Equality, which rallies inhabitants of Slovenia coming from other Yugoslav republics,

announced on Thursday [13 December] that, if an independent state were created, the party would demand that Slovenia introduce dual citizenship. It also demanded direct voting rights for inhabitants of Slovenia from other Yugoslav republics.

Serbian Democrats Hold Rally in Slovenia

LD1612185690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1802 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 16 Dec (TANJUG)—President of the Serbian Democratic Party (SDP) [SDS] Jovan Raskovic today called on Serbs living in Slovenia to put up resistance if Slovenian "ethnocracy and a state of limited sovereignty" is established in the republic.

An assembly of the Serbian Democratic Party for Slovenia was held in the republic's capital of Ljubljana today. The SDP rallies Serbs in Yugoslavia who live outside their native republic.

The SDP urges the realization of national and human rights of Serbs. As SDP for Slovenia President Dusa Damjanovic pointed out, Serbs are against the decision for creating a border with their native people and suggests that they do not vote at the plebiscite on Slovenia's independence on December 23.

Raskovic pointed out that Serbs are in favor of a Yugoslav federation and against Yugoslavia as a confederation, urged by Slovenia and Croatia. Member of the SDP for Croatia Bogoljub Popovic accused Croatian President Franjo Tudjman of implementing a "pro-Ustasha" policy. Ustashas were political and military groups who formed the pro-fascist quisling independent state of Croatia during World War Two.

Today's SDP Assembly in Ljubljana sent a telegram of congratulations to Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic from whom they expect support in resolving the status of Serbs in Diaspora.

Tudjman, Kucan Discuss Republics' Future

AU1512214690 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 8 Dec 90 p 1,12

[Unattributed report: "The Only Way—A Democratic Agreement"]

[Excerpts] Celje—On the occasion of the 120th anniversary of Slovene-Croatian talks on a confederation, Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, and Milan Kucan, president of the Republic of Slovenia, met in Celje on Friday [7 December] evening. A televised hour-long talk was also organized in which the two presidents answered questions put to them by Joze Volfand, DELO editor, on the subject of "What Kind of Yugoslavia as a Confederation?" The talk was also carried by Slovene Television and Croatian Television.

In their replies to the questions, presidents Tudjman and Kucan in fact summed up the stands of Croatia and Slovenia regarding the basic issues involved in resolving the Yugoslav crisis and the future of these two republics. [passage omitted]

An Alliance Along the Lines of the EC

Replying to a question on how he imagines a new Yugoslavia, Tudjman said that from the Croatian viewpoint, we are not in the least bit inclined to speak about the renovation of Yugoslavia or about any kind of third Yugoslavia since it has been compromised over the last 70 years. What Tito managed—the renovation of Yugoslavia—no longer exists. It is possible to speak only about whether the people of Yugoslavia, the democratic representatives of the republics, can reach agreement on some kind of alliance of the republics in the present SFRY along the lines of the European Community.

Speaking about differences between the Slovene and Croatian view of a confederation, that is to say, the association of new sovereign states, Kucan said that these were only in details. [passage omitted]

Understandable Uneasiness

Mentioning public statements by Admiral Branko Mamula and General Veljko Kadijevic, Kucan said that the people's uneasiness was understandable. Without denying Kadijevic the right to publicly express his opinion, Kucan stressed that it was necessary to work out whether this involved a personal opinion or the stand of the army leadership. President Kucan saw the army's problem in the fact that it wants to remain a separate political factor and play the role of arbitrator.

There is a serious danger—president Tudjman said—from irrational and adventurist behavior and even the announcement of the open use of the Armed Forces. However, we in Croatia have already said that we will oppose this not only with the whole system of the democratic authorities but we will call on the entire Croatian people to defend freedom and sovereignty, which is something in which we are united. Such undertakings do not have any chance of success and can only cause tragic events and the final collapse of everything that these undertakings serve. The SFRY Presidency will have to speak out and take a stand concerning the latest statements by military leaders, Tudjman stressed. Commenting on the foundation of the new communist party which is committed to socialism and thinks that the democratic transformations are a return to the exploitative world, Tudjman said that this will go down in history as a "weird group of people who are obviously not intended to be involved in serious political business."

Centralization Is Unacceptable

Regards the federal government and Prime Minister Markovic, Tudjman said that the centralization that is being carried out in some regions is unacceptable since it undermines Croatia's essential economic interests, so his reform program should in this sense be reexamined.

Replying to a question on the constant irrational element in politics since the appearance of Milosevic and the escalation of nationalist occurrences, Kucan stressed that it is impossible to easily eliminate these irrational elements. Some circles consider the announcement of the Slovene referendum and the adoption of the Croatian constitution to be the destruction of Yugoslavia, Kucan said, but we are talking about the right of the legitimately elected structures of these two republics to make their own decisions about their own destiny. [passage omitted]

Europe As a Mode

In answer to a question on what Slovenia and Croatia are at this moment offering for the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis, Tudjman said: We are above all offering Yugoslavia a consistent democratic transformation, entry into the world of free countries, and a free democratic society. We are offering the kind of joint agreement which would make possible good-neighborly relations, as well as common interests in a community, in an alliance similar to Europe.

Citing the example of the Serbian boycott, Kucan nevertheless thought that there is no future in closing borders within Yugoslavia, but it is necessary to follow the logic of the Helsinki documents.

After the live relay from the "Evropa" hotel ended, presidents Tudjman and Kucan carried on answering questions from the guests present.

Speaking about the unrest among Serbs in Croatia, Dr. Tudjman said:

"We were able to put down the uprising in a part of the Serbian population in Croatia with police action, but we did not want to be tricked by hegemonistic provocations which would cause the Army to intervene."

Who Instead of Kadijevic

One question was: Does Dr. Tudjman have a concrete suggestion on who should replace Kadijevic? I think that in any normal society a civilian should occupy the post of defense minister, president Tudjman replied and received applause from those present.

Kucan stated that he did not believe that the Yugoslav People's Army could intervene to prevent the Slovene referendum. What if the plebiscite fails? Kucan replied that he himself had also personally advocated a referendum and that the decision was a matter of the will of the Slovene people.

Have you had secret meetings with Slobodan Milosevic? Dr. Tudjman answered this question with a laugh: "No. That is to say, Milan Kucan was also present at these meetings."

Negotiations With Draskovic?

The next question was whether it would be easier to negotiate with Vuk Draskovic. Dr. Tudjman replied that essentially nothing will change in Serbian policy toward the non-Serbian peoples after multiparty elections are held in Serbia. However, it seems that these elections will in a certain way lead to democracy in Serbia. After the elections, Serbia will nevertheless be forced to seek a democratic way out of the crisis. The only alternative is a military coup, Dr. Tudjman said.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

"A Celje Document"

Even though no kind of "Celje document" was signed, which had been expected by part of the media, both presidents expressed willingness to sign one when the opportunity and need arose for this.

Tudjman, Croat Officials View Political Situation

LD1612175790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1241 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Text] Zagreb, 16 Dec (TANJUG)—We have removed the danger of the SFRY Presidency leaving a military intervention at the Yugoslav People's Army's discretion, Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman said today in talks with leaders of opposition parties represented in the Croatian Assembly.

Chairman of the opposition parties called on the president to brief them on the current political situation in the republic, as seen by the Presidency. The talks were not attended by a representative of the Serbian Democratic Party.

The danger has not yet ceased, and if the Croatian public shows resolve, a principled attitude, and a readiness to defend Croatian sovereignty, an intervention will unlikely take place, Dr. Tudjman concluded, and expressed his conviction that Yugoslav crisis will be resolved by a new historic agreement.

Tudjman Seeks Alliance of Sovereign Republics

LD1412172190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1549 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Zagreb, 14 Dec (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia Franjo Tudjman set out on Friday that this republic was in favor of an alliance of Sovereign Yugoslav republics, and if this was not possible Croatia would be forced to seek "divorce".

Tudjman stated this in the talk with representatives of the Alliance of Republican and Provincial Lawyers' Chamber of Yugoslavia, who met in Zagreb in Friday.

Tudjman in conclusion stated the conviction "that by way of dialogue and respect democratic and civilizational solutions for living together and a way out of the state and political crisis can be found."

Croatia Passes Law To Protect Economic Interests

LD1512180790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1310 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] Zagreb, 15 Dec (TANJUG)—By special order of Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, the republican government is empowered as of 13 December to pass temporary measures to protect Croatia's economic interests. This order replaces an earlier decision by the Croatian Assembly at its 7 December session. The earlier decision supported the proposal for passing a law to this effect, but it was not formally adopted by all three chambers in its original form due to lack of a quorum. The president's order and the new law are published in the latest issue of NATIONAL GAZETTE (No.52 12 December 1990), the official bulletin of the Republic of Croatia.

The new law empowers the government to legislate and take reciprocal measures against republics which, through their activities, undermine equality in the unified Yugoslav market, set up monopolies, forge inequitable business relations, or undermine Croatia's economic interests.

According to the new law on the territory of the republic the Croatian Government can levy special duties and a special turnover tax on goods, on the display of company names, and on business premises or building land belonging to companies or individuals whose place of residence or headquarters is outside Croatia. Such special taxes can be levied on companies and individuals in Croatia who possess, rent, or use recreational facilities, buildings, or parts of buildings used on a seasonal basis or from time to time for holidays or recuperation.

A special article of the law, Article Three, clarifies that place of residence or headquarters means the place of residence recognized on the day the law came into force, 13 December. Paragraph Two of this article sets out that the government of Croatia can legislate such measures against citizens of other republics whose place of residence is in the territory of Croatia. Citizens of the republic whose place of residence is in the territory of other republics are excluding.

In addition to reciprocal measures, the government is also empowered to pass regulations which will facilitate the redirection of the flow of goods produced by Croatian manufacturers from the markets of those republics where they have found themselves is in an unequitable position. The government may legislate and take other measures which remove turbulence in the market stemming from the application of other republics' measures and activities.

Dalmatian Parties Hold Founding Assemblies

LD1612202190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1814 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Summary] Split, 16 Dec (TANJUG)—Over 1,000 people, primarily young people, attended the founding assembly today of "Dalmatian Action" [Dalmatinska Akcija] in Split. The meeting was addressed, among others, by party chairman, Dzerman Cica Senjanovic. All speakers stressed that the aim of the party is a democratic and free Dalmatia within a democratic Croatia. They energetically opposed the labeling of this party by the new Croatian authorities as being in favor of excessive autonomy. Representatives of almost all parties attended the meeting except for those of the [Croatian Democratic Community] HDZ. The founding assembly was also held today in Sibenik of the Dalmatian People's Party [Dalmatinska Narodna Stranka], which has a similar but somewhat "softer" program. Slobodan Ozretic was elected chairman of this party.

New Zagreb Branch of Reformist Alliance Formed

LD1612144890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1259 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Text] Zagreb, 16 Dec (TANJUG)—The Alliance of Reformist Forces [SRSJ] gained a new branch today, in the city of Zagreb. A 46-member city committee was elected with Emil Kajganic as the branch chairman. Federal Executive Council [FEC] member and member of the SRSJ main committee Bozo Marendic, who addressed the founding assembly, said that the FEC is capable of controlling and even reducing the present level of inflation.

Outcome of Serbian Elections Discussed

LD1612164290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1422 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Dec (TANJUG)—The Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS), which has a convincing lead before the runoff in the first multi-party elections in this Yugoslav republic since World War Two, has been rashly described by some reporters as the party of communists, the Belgrade English language paper POLITIKA—the international weekly—reports in its latest issue.

It says that only 100,000 of the party's 400,000 members belonged to the League of Communists of Serbia which was dissolved last July.

The remaining 300,000 have never belonged to any other political party, it notes.

The SPS is a completely new party, with a new leadership, new membership and new programme and it is very difficult to find a vestage of the old communist ideology in it, POLITIKA says.

As for the remaining 600,000 members of the former League of Communists of Serbia which had a membership of 700,00 when it dissolved, their present political affiliation is difficult to establish, it adds.

It can be assumed that some are followers or have joined any of the numerous newly-formed parties, and that they voted for the opposition in the elections, writes POLITIKA.

The fact that many high-ranking officials of the former League of Communists of Serbia—who either left the party some three of four years ago or were expelled from its ranks—are now in the leaderships of newly-formed parties, only substantiates this claim, the paper adds.

Therefore, the election victory of the SPS, with 100,000 former communists, against the opposition, which may have won the votes of the remaining 600,000 former members of the League of Communists of Serbia, justifies the conclusion that hard-core communists have sided with the losers, says POLITIKA.

SPS leader Slobodan Milosevic scored a convincing victory in the presidential election already in the first round.

His party is also in the convincing lead in the parliamentary elections, but the final results will be known only after the second round scheduled for next Sunday [23 December], the paper concludes.

Serbian Candidates Agree on Belgrade TV Airtime

LD1512220490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1816 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Dec (TANJUG)—At today's meeting of representatives of the Socialist Party of Serbia [Socijalisticka partija Srbije—SPS], the United Serbian Opposition, and Belgrade Radio and Television, an agreement was reached on the way in which candidates for national deputies in the second round of the elections will be presented on TV's second channel.

Between Monday and Thursday [17-20 december], when the election blackout begins, all candidates from Belgrade will each be given three minutes' airtime on Belgrade Television. In the morning broadcast, five candidates will be given three minutes' air time each. The presentation of candidates for national deputies will take place in accordance with the same principle in the current affairs programs of the regions.

Representatives of Belgrade Radio and Television and of the parties whose candidates are taking part in the second round will reach an agreement tomorrow on the special broadcasts for the second round of the elections, it was announced this evening.

Draskovic Addresses Opposition Rally in Kragujevac

LD1612183390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1452 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Text] Kragujevac, 16 Dec (TANJUG)—Representatives of several opposition parties today addressed citizens of Kragujevac in Trg AVNOJA [Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia Square]. About 2,000 citizens were present. The opposition representatives called on the citizens to vote for opposition candidates in the second round of the elections on 23 December.

The opposition in the future parliament should have a restraining influence on the socialist authorities, so that the promises made in the preelection campaign might be fulfilled, Vuk Draskovic, chairman of the Serbian Renaissance Movement said, among other things.

Serbia Said Aiding Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina

LD1512055290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0238 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Dec (TANJUG)—Institutions and collectives from the Republic of Serbia are to take part in realizing the development programme of the National Council of the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, central Yugoslavia, it was announced here today from the cabinet of Slobodan Milosevic, president of Yugoslavia's largest constituent Republic of Serbia.

According to the communique, this cooperation was agreed on in a talk between President Milosevic and a SDS delegation headed by Radovan Karadzic, the SDS president and president of the Serbian National Council in Bosnia-Herzegovina. A group of Bosnia- Herzegovina's business men took part in the talk.

The talk participants expect, through mutual cooperation, to step up the realization of several joint projects on which enterprises from Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina work together, the communique said.

The Serbian National Council in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina was set up before multiparty elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina last November, after other political forces rejected the SDS proposal that a third chamber (the Chamber of People) be added to this republic's parliament. The Serbian National Council's aim is to protect interests and secure an equal position for the Serbian population in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The National Council of Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina has not yet become legalized, however.

Radovan Karadzic, chief of the National Council and the SDS, has made first contacts with the authorities in Serbia in early October this year and is trying now to give them more strength. Immediately before the mulitparty elections in Serbia of December 9 he said that the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina 'are pinning all their hopes on their mother country, Serbia,' in their struggle for 'their own recovery.'

On the other hand, into its new constitution passed at last September's end Serbia for the first time brought the obligation to take care of protecting the rights and interests of Serbs in the neighbouring republics and countries.

Abdic on Possibility of Becoming Bosnian President

LD1612182890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1702 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 16 Dec (TANJUG)—A member of the new presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina Fikret Abdic announced in an interview for Yutel Television on Saturday night [15 Decemeber] the possibility that he become the president of the republic.

Abdic said that there have been demands in the public that he become the president of Bosnia-Hercegovina because he scored a convincing victory in the elections.

Adding that members of the new Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency have still not decided on who will be the president of the republic, Abdic said that he would respect their decision. The decision is to be reached by Thursday.

Voters in the multi-party elections in Bosnia-Hercegovina cast their ballots for members of the seven-man Presidency. In view of the multi-national population of the republic, the presidency will be made up of two Moslems, two Serbs, two Croats and one representative of other nations and nationalities.

The other Moslem representative in the Presidency is Alija Izetbegovic, the president of the biggest national party in Bosnia- Hercegovina—the Party of Democratic Action.

Abdic is seen by many as an innocent victim of a communist plot because he spent two years in investigative detention. He was accused of being responsible for the bankruptcy of the Bosnian combine Agrokomerc. The financial and political scandal in which Abdic played the leading role, as the firm's director, had shaken the foundations of Yugoslavia's banking system.

Abdic last night said that the parties which won in the elections have not yet agreed on the distribution of ministerial posts and other offices.

Bosnian Communist Leader Predicts Radical Change

LD1612220590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1917 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 16 Dec (TANJUG)—Bosnia-Hercegovina Communist Party leader Nijaz Durakovic told a news conference in Sarajevo on Sunday that his party would radically change its program and internal organization after being defeated in the multi-party elections. Durakovic said that the aim was to reform the League of Communists into a modern party of the European left.

The party congress, scheduled for late January, will also review the name (League of Communists - Socialist Democratic Party), Durakovic said, adding that "communist" might be chucked out of the name of the party.

Asked about the party's relationship to the Communist Party - Movement for Yugoslavia, Durakovic said that party was working semi-legally in the field, adding that hardline, dogmatic members of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina were joining it. The Communist Party-Movement for Yugoslavia was founded by ranking officials of the Yugoslav People's Army.

Party To Reduce Staff

LD1712134790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0949 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Summary] Sarajevo, 17 Dec (TANJUG)—Following its defeat in the last elections, the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists - Socialist Democratic Party will review its membership registers and introduce a new scheme for collecting membership fees. It will also reduce its presently 700-strong professional staff to 150.

Montenegro Backs Multiparty Election Proposal

LD1412220190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1944 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Titograd, 14 Dec (TANJUG)—The parliament of the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro has upheld the Yugoslav Government proposal for an amendment to the Yugoslav Constitution be adopted enabling multi-party elections for the Yugoslav parliament and the continuation of the economic and political reforms in the country.

The Montenegrin parliament on Friday issued a document on the constitutional crisis in Yugoslavia and set out that there was a need for respect and implementation of the existing Yugoslav construction, and other Yugoslav republics called on to refrain from adopting one-sided legislation running contrary to it.

The document sets out that this was necessary so as to resolve the constitutional crisis in the country and establish a new constitutional order of the country.

Montenegro Election Results Still Incomplete

LD1412213790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1831 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Titograd, 14 Dec (TANJUG)—According to the still unofficial results, the League of Communists of Montenegro won at least 83 parliamentary seats of the 125 in the first multi-party elections in this Yugoslav republic held on December 9.

The strongest opposition party—the National Party - won, as estimated, some 15 seats in the first round, while the number of seats won by the Reformist Forces - the third strongest opposition party - has yet to be announced.

There was also no official announcement in how many constituencies will deputies have to be elected in the second round on December 23.

The parliament of Montenegro has one chamber with 125 seats.

Montenegrin Media Violates Election Blackout

AU1512210190 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Dec 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Charges Against Violation of Election Blackout"]

[Text] The public prosecutor yesterday filed three criminal charges concerning the violation of the election blackout. The law will be applied against Montenegrin Radio and Television for advertising party newspapers, and POBJEDA for publishing unsuitable articles in its Saturday edition. In the Speakers' Platform column, the only Montenegrin paper published the letter from Draginja Jovanovic under the title "Ante [Markovic], You Are a Liar" in which she says among other things that the federal prime minister is trying to destroy the economies of Serbia, Montenegro, and other parts of the country populated by Serbs. The other article with which the paper violated the election blackout is the response by Dr. Milo Markovic, a deputy candidate of the League of Communists, to an article written by a POBJEDA journalist Vladan Micunovic.

Macedonia Halts Payments to Development Fund

LD1412221690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2059 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Skopje, 14 Dec (TANJUG)—After a marathon session held today, the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Macedonian Assembly accepted the proposal of the government of this republic that Macedonia stop making payments to the Federal Fund for the Undeveloped. The Macedonian Executive Council also received authorization to suspend other payments to federal funds, except those for the needs of the Yugoslav People's Army and for the normal functioning of the federal administration. This stance was also adopted yesterday by the two other chambers of the Macedonian Assembly. This means that payments will cease as of tomorrow.

The basic reason for this decision by the Macedonian Assembly is the republic's difficult financial situation caused by the illiquidity of the economy and of the banks, and also by the federation's failure to carry out its regular financial obligations toward Macedonia. Over the last two months the flow of Macedonian funds into the federal budget amounted to over 1.2 billion dinars, while the federation has returned only 312 million to the republic.

New Marxist Party in Macedonia Announced

LD1612151590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1045 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Summary] Skopje, 16 Dec (TANJUG)—A new party was formed in Macedonia today - the Party of Progress - Marxists [Partija Progresa - Marksisti] which will fight for the speedy development of the country, a classless society, national equality and identity of each nation, as well as for national equality of our minorities outside the country.

Tourist Group Refused Entry Visas for Shkoder

LD1712142590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1308 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Titograd, 17 Dec (TANJUG)—A group of 40 tourists from Titograd traveling with Inturs of Titograd had to forgo their one-day trip to Shkoder this morning because the authorities in Tirana failed to issue entry visas for them. A telex from Tirana claims that this is an interim decision. This is the third time in eight months that entry visas have been refused, despite an agreement on mutual cooperation between Inturs of Titograd and Alb-turs of Tirana signed in April of this year.

Kosovar Party Welcomes Changes in Albania

LD1412123490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1123 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Pristina, 14 Dec (TANJUG)—Albania is going through a critical phase on the road to democracy. We welcome the decision to form a multiparty system in Albania, a member of the Presidium of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance, Fehmi Agani, stated at today's press conference.

This party, rallying Albanians from Kosovo and Yugoslavia, expressed concern that, as Agani put it, a forced "acceleration" of the developments could result in bloodshed.

The alliance leadership holds that the democratization of Albania—as stated—in a way provides support and encouragement "for the Albanian nation in Yugoslavia in its struggle to secure national equality and respect for its rights."

Paper on Alia's Support for Kosovo Albanians

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[Text] Zagreb, 16 Dec (TANJUG)—Albanian State and Party Leader Ramiz Alia said on Sunday that Albania would in future, as it has done so far, continue to support "the brothers from Kosovo on the path of realizing their legitimate rights."

Alia said this during a meeting with Zekerijah Cana, one of the leaders of the ethnic Albanian opposition in thesouthern Serbian province of Kosovo, where 90 percent of Yugoslavia's ethnic Albanians live, writes the Zagreb daily VJESNIK on Monday, carrying a report of the Croatian news agency HINA from Tirana.

VJESNIK also carries Cana's statement that he got the impression that the Albanian president was the main advocate of the process of democratization in Albania.

According to VJESNIK, Cana informed Alia of the situation in Kosovo, where a powerful ethnic Albanian separatist movement has been active for a long time.

Alia told Cana that he had set out Albania's stand on ethnic Albanians in Kosovo in the United Nations and had also informed Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar of it.